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AMMAN MEETING SEEKS TO IMPROVE BOYCOTT OBSERVANCE

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1458, 12 Oct 84 p 54

[Article]

[Text] The meeting of the Arab Economic and Social Council held in Amman did not result in anything important economically speaking, even if it did adopt political resolutions pertaining to opposing American support antagonistic to the Arab boycott of Israel in Europe, and to thwarting the free trade zone project between America and Israel.

It seems that the Arab economic and finance ministers who participated in the meeting were unable to come up with anything other than reinforcing the boycott rules in response to Europe's inclination towards breaking them, knowing that during the late seventies the Arab boycott had become soft as a result of the policy of turning a blind eye towards Camp David followed by some Arab countries.

Affirmation of the collective Arab obligation to enforce the boycott to prevent dealing with the Zionist entity and the companies and establishments that deal with it.

Immediate and decisive application, officially and on the popular level, of the Arab boycott with respect to any company that participates, financially or technically, in part or in full, in any of the projects of the free trade zone.

To use more care and precision in applying the rules of the boycott on products which come through the open bridges or the border regions, or which originate inside occupied Arab territories, but without forsaking the goal of resistance by the Arab people there.

Authorizing Arab diplomatic delegations, Arab League delegations, and joint Arab and foreign chambers of commerce to counteract media and political campaigns which are antagonistic to cooperation with establishments whose economic interests link them to the Arab nation. And authorizing the main office for the boycott to carry out a continuous media campaign in cooperation with those parties mentioned in the previous paragraph to explain the nature and goals of the Arab boycott.

That the focus of the next session, the thirty-eighth, of the Social and Economic Council should be the two subjects of the Arab boycott and the free trade zone between the United States and Israel, in addition to studying the report of the working group.

Some observers believe that the two issues will be presented to the next Arab summit conference, because they are extremely serious and represent a strategic change in favour of Israel, and also because any decisions relating to them must be backed by political resolutions from the Arab leadership.

Previously, the Arab Economic and Social Council had in 1981 issued Resolution No 878 on opposing French measures against the boycott, then in 1982 it discussed the same subject and sent it on to the Arab foreign ministers, but it seems that until now the political leadership has not been able to sense the seriousness of the two issues, with the indication that the Council's resolutions on the matter might be nothing more than ink on paper.

Among the resolutions adopted by the meeting was one on facilitating the exportation of Lebanese agricultural produce to Arab countries, but the resolution stipulated that the Lebanese government not allow Israeli goods to slip through, something that is considered a way of bypassing the resolution in view of the fact that some ministers expressed their belief that the obstacles that had been placed before Lebanese produce were political ones.

The Council tried to discuss the subject of developing trade between Arab states, and which was adopted during joint meetings of Arab agencies in Abu Dhabi, but it did not agree on much. Rather it limited its role to extending timid invitations to agree on an agreement on the facilitation and development of trade and an agreement of tax exemptions. But a proposal such as the one put forward by the Jordanian delegation on facilitating the granting of visas to drivers of freight trucks in transit the Council did not discuss, rather it passed it on to the interior ministers in spite of its urgent nature, as well as its humanitarian, trade, and other aspects.

What is said about the problems faced by the drivers of Arab trucks, can also be said about the problems faced by the Arab work force when it travels about in search of work, for usually what happens is that it runs into a brick wall. And the Council sent the notice of the principles governing the movement of the work force which was signed last year on to the Arab Labour Organization, which shows that no Arab country adhered to it.

There were another of other topics which the ministers agreed on, one of which was the annual unified Arab speech given by the Arab group at the annual joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which is an expression of Arab unanimity on international economic matters.

And the appeal by the governments for the support of joint Arab-foreign chambers that participate in confronting the campaign against the Arab boycott abroad--however, the Council stressed the importance of the chambers' promoting Arab

trade instead of doing the opposite. Regarding the setting up of an Arab establishment for the sea bed, the Council invited representatives of the concerned ministries to hold a meeting next November to study the plan that will guarantee the Arabs a place at the world table on dividing up the sea bed. It was also decided to establish a court of Arab investments which was charged with seeing that there was unanimous agreement on the investment of Arab capital.

Regarding the plan to allow freedom in the air within the Arab world and apply a policy of open airways, discussion of that was postponed even though it is an important issue that would greatly lower the cost of transportation among Arab states.

On the combined report on the activities of the specialized Arab organizations, the Council made the following recommendations:

- Affirmation of the role of the Economic and Social Council in overseeing the Arab organizations.
- Elimination of duplication in the work of the organizations.
- Prior coordination of the work programs of the specialized organizations.

In this matter, these recommendations are seen as tantamount to a death blow dealt by the Economic Council to the Council on Arab Economic Unity which now is considered to be defunct, in view of the fact that the measures taken by the latter council were seen as exploratory activity in the field of Arab cooperation especially during the seventies.

The reason for the cooling off of enthusiasm towards joint Arab activity could be the reduction in oil revenues on the one hand, and the scandals coming out of some of the establishments for joint activity, especially the Arab Monetary Fund, to say nothing of political disagreements and the control by the bureaucrats over the instruments for joint Arab activity.

12547

CSO: 4404/38

ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON URGED

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 10 Oct 84 p 9

[Editorial: "The Desired Withdrawal"]

[Text] Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, the foreign minister, has said that a development has indeed occurred in the Israeli stance on the question of the withdrawal from Southern Lebanon. This is because Israel now no longer makes its withdrawal contingent on the withdrawal of the Syrian presence from Lebanon.

Dr 'Abd al-Majid noted that Egypt had elucidated its stance at the present session of the UN General Assembly, when Egypt demanded that the Israeli withdrawal be a real, not a cosmetic, withdrawal, that the withdrawal take place without delay, and that the UNIFIL, not the forces of dissident General Antoine Lahd, replace the Israeli forces in Lebanon. Furthermore, Dr 'Abd al-Majid noted that Egypt assumes responsibility in this state of affairs in view of Egypt's membership of the Security Council.

At this point, one's attention is drawn to the fact that Syria has shown clear flexibility in contrast to its former obdurate stances. The reason is that, in an interview with the U.S. NEWSWEEK magazine, the Syrian foreign minister announced that his government looks to Washington to help it end the Lebanese crisis.

As for Israel, Israeli Prime Minister's Shim'on Peres has announced that he wants to end Israel's involvement in Lebanon and to halt the attrition to which the Israeli forces are being subjected as the result of this involvement.

Had Washington alleviated the staunchness of its total partiality to Israel and viewed the Lebanese people's interests the same way it views the solution of Israel's aggravating crisis, Washington would have drawn much closer to the objective of withdrawing the occupying Israeli forces from Southern Lebanon.

One thing about which there can be no doubt is the fact that a main reason of this Israeli economic crisis is Israel's involvement in Lebanon and the exorbitant expenditure incurred by Israel in keeping its occupation forces.

The resolution of Israel's crises can be achieved through the withdrawal that we are demanding.

LACK OF GOVERNMENT ACTION ON ISLAMIC LEGISLATION ATTACKED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Oct 84 p 9

[Article by Ahmad al-Suyufi: "The Government's Statement Ignored the Islamic Shari'ah and Did Not Define the Role of Al Azhar Or Allude to Islamic Issues"]

[Text] The government of the National Democratic Party, headed by Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali, issued its report before the People's Assembly. I followed the report from the beginning to end, and I found not so much as a hint of an important issue that concerns Islamic public opinion - the issue of the application of the Islamic Shari'ah! I looked at the report, and found that it did not deal with the role of al-Azhar as an international Islamic institution, nor did it define Egypt's Islamic role vis-a-vis the Islamic world, nor did it refer to the religious endowments of Muslims that have been improperly appropriated. By ignoring these grave and sensitive issues, the report was a disappointment to Muslims and closed the door to their aspirations.

It was not very intelligent of the report to ignore the issue of the application of the Shari'ah, because running away from this issue is now considered a crime into whose claws the government will fall for a number of reasons. The first is that Egypt's constitution provides that the Islamic Shari'ah is the principal source for legislation. The level of civilization of any respected state is measured by the extent to which it respects its constitution. It is the backward countries that are the most reckless with their constitutions, and abusive of them.

Second, there is no stronger consensus than the one that binds the nation, the people and the Egyptian political parties in demanding the application of the Islamic Shari'ah. The programs of all the Egyptian political parties have included the necessity of applying the Islamic Shari'ah. The leaders of the parties, including the National Democratic Party, promised the people when they went to them during the election campaign that they would apply the Shari'ah if they were able to enter the People's Assembly.

Opinion polls conducted recently confirm that 96 percent of the Egyptian people demand the application of God's law.

Third, the highest officials declared after the assassination of former president Anwar al-Sadat that they would carry out the application of the Islamic Shari'ah so that young people would find no pretext or excuse for using terrorism and murder.

So where did these promises go? What will the people think of these promises and declarations if they are not carried out? Can they be asked to believe anything after that?

What will we say to the religious young people if the government fails to apply the Islamic Shari'ah, especially those who have lost confidence in the successive governments because of this procrastination? Wouldn't it be wiser if the government did not let anyone attack it with doubt in this matter? What is it that is preventing the government from applying the Shari'ah, now that it has been announced that the government would delay in this matter again. The people want to know how the government thinks, and if there are external or internal obstacles, then the people should know them. But there isn't a single justification keeping the government from applying the Shari'ah. So why are they silent and why do they ignore the matter?

Is there any connection between the government's ignoring the issue of the application of the Shari'ah in its report and the serious statement made by Doctor Rif'at al-Mahjub, the President of the Assembly in the magazine UKTUBAR, where he said:

"Our society is concerned with problems such as these, and it must not be the prisoner of one or the other ideology. As I have said before, we do not have time to lose in philosophical or ideological labyrinths. We do not make our decisions on the basis of clashing ideologies. Let us come together without bringing in ideological, intellectual or philosophical labyrinths. I hope that ideologies will step to the side so that bread can take its place and freedom can take its place."

This statement is very serious in that it clashes with the sensibilities of Muslims, and makes them lose hope in the seriousness of applying the Islamic Shari'ah.

This is what was said by al-Mahjub, who wants to keep ideologies at a distance and brush them aside. He has no time to lose in ideological labyrinths and does not want to be the prisoner of dogma.

Is there any connection, as we said, between this statement and that procrastination?

Fourth, I know that the committees have finished preparing all the articles to make the Islamic Shari'ah the law, as officials have explained. All that remains is the commentary, so there is no place or excuse for procrastination and delay. The matter needs only good faith with God. In my opinion, this is a test of the government before the people. Will it pass it or will it fail it as it has failed in past years?

Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali said in the government's statement that the first priority is increasing production. Doctor Rif'at al-Mahjub said in his statement, "so that bread can take its place." I request of them both, in order to increase production and so that bread can take its place, that we try, even if only once, to apply the Law of God to solve these problems.

For it is the Islamic Shari'ah that makes the pure and God-fearing society that has no place in it for those who steal and exploit, or for those who are lazy and those who sleep. The Islamic Shari'ah makes men who would die out of love and self-sacrifice and exertion for their country and its glory.

God (may he be praised and exalted) is the truthful one who knows what is good for us and what corrupts us, and it is He who sent to us this constitution which holds true for us, where He says (may he be praised and exalted):

"If the people of the towns had but believed and feared [God], we would have opened up to them blessings from heaven and earth" [Koran VII, 96]. Shall we try God's blessings? Or shall we always wait for the blessings of America, who stipulates that we increase our support so that it will sympathize with us with loans?

The government's statement also ignored al-Azhar and its role. The exalted al-Azhar is supposed to be an international Islamic organization with its own special personality and character. It should have something to say in all issues. We hope that the day will come in which the whole Islamic world stops to await the opinion of al-Azhar in all its issues, and that Muslims be united and we hope that their leadership will have its splendor and dignity, and that it will be a source of the Islamic world's respect and the focus of its hopes.

We hope that the day will never come in which the ruler will say, as the former president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat said, "I forced the Shaykh al-Azhar to do such and such." The statement should have defined for us the role of al-Azhar in these issues, and in issues concerning the propagation of Islam, and how al-Azhar sends missions to call to God in the rest of the world. The call to God is a standing obligation until the Day of Judgment. When the statement spoke of al-Azhar, it spoke about Azharite education in very brief terms, with no mention of responsibility or of anything new or specific. If the government fails to do something, you cannot confront it with it, because there is nothing obligatory. Talk just contributes to ignoring the issues, inaction and deep sleep.

The Islamic world has the most urgent need of al-Azhar's role, especially in the period through which it is passing now. Who will tie together the bonds of this fragmented Islamic world if not al-Azhar? Who but al-Azhar will mediate between fighting and quarreling Muslims? Al Azhar has a big role that was ignored by the government's statement.

The statement spoke only of the mosques and the policy of the government with regard to maintaining them. It said that in Egypt there are close to 50,000 mosques, and said:

"The mosque represents a base for spiritual dissemination." ' In our opinion this statement is unclear. The mosque is supposed to be a place for building the Muslim person, and the statement did not define the role of the mosque in building the Muslim individual. Does the mosque now play this role or not?

Are the mosques still under surveillance by the State Security Office or not?

The statement spoke about supporting the imams of the mosques both materially and socially, so that they are able to carry out their exalted mission. The truth of the matter is that there is at present no plan to support the imams of the mosques materially or socially. The situation is and will remain as it has been. There is nothing to enable them to carry out their mission. The State Security Office records their sermons and the Ministry of Religious Trusts imposes written sermons on the imams. To say nothing of the laws to shackle the imam's movement. All of this stands as an insurmountable obstacle facing the imams with regard to their carrying out their mission. Some of the imams are still forbidden to carry out their mission, and forbidden to enter their mosques, and we do not know how long this exclusion and prohibition will remain in effect.

The statement ignored the endowments of Muslims, whether improperly appropriated or not, and how to utilize them to serve the propagation of Islam and raising the material situation of the imams. The Muslim religious endowments, from which a certain amount of money has been improperly appropriated, should be reevaluated once more. There has been enough neglect - this issue should be resolved.

By ignoring these important Islamic issues, the government's statement showed itself to be deficient, incomplete and disappointing to Muslims, after pushing all important Islamic issues to the side in a way that makes the citizen feel that Islam represents nothing in the government's view. It is nothing more than an institute presenting Islamic culture or a mosque engaging in spiritual dissemination.

12727

CSO: 4504/30

CHANGES AFFECTING UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES APPROVED

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 5 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by Yusri Muwafi: "Entrance to Faculties Forbidden to Students Except by University Identification Card"]

[Text] It has been decided to forbid entrance to the faculties of the University of Cairo to all except students with new university identification cards for this year, regardless of whether they are temporary (for those who have not paid their fees) or permanent (for those who have paid their fees), and not to permit students affiliated with their faculties to enter until two weeks after the beginning of classes. It has also been decided to subsidize university textbooks and to set the end of next November as the final date for issuing the books to the students. The books will be sold to students at half-price, with the individual faculties paying the difference to the publisher, who then settles accounts with the author. It was also decided to set the end of the current month of October as the final date for transfers of returning students in the faculties and institutes of the university.

This was decided at the expanded session held yesterday by Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of the university, and attended by the university vice presidents and representatives of the faculties and institutes, to discuss preparations for the start of the new academic year 1984-85.

The president of the University of Cairo explained that it was decided to forbid access to the university residence compounds to all those not residing there and to forbid setting up pavilions for book fairs within university buildings or hanging posters inside or outside the premises of the university, except with permission and provided it is done in a place specified for that purpose.

It was also decided not to permit members of the faculty or students to solicit contributions from other students for any purpose without permission of the dean. Measures were also taken to prevent students from bringing their cars into the faculties of the university.

As for the curriculum, it was decided to post all academic schedules for classes and lab sessions for the academic sections and divisions by yesterday at the

latest. This would allow students to have, if possible, two free days within this schedule, one of which would be the day off for the week. It will also make it possible to group the day's classes either in the morning or in the afternoon to reduce some of the burden of the daily commute and it will assure that women students do not stay at school for classes after 4 pm.

It was also decided that faculty members as well as instructors, assistants and tutors should be present at their faculties starting from the beginning of the academic year, most especially during the month of October, and that permission would not be granted for travel abroad during the following month unless the president of the university determines that there is an emergency. It was also decided that the formation of councils for the faculties and institutes for the new university year must be completed.

12727

CSO: 4504/30

SUMMIT ON SUBSIDIES LAUDED

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 14 Oct 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Democracy ... and Subsidies"]

[Text] President Mubarak's decision--to incorporate all the parties, universities, and bodies in studying the subject of the subsidies--reaffirms that the president is indeed implementing the political, national objectives that he had proclaimed since he assumed the post of president. And this patriotic decision is an eloquent illustration of this implementation!

The meaning which this decision is intended to convey epitomizes two objectives of this policy. These two objectives are the president's belief that Egypt belongs to all the Egyptians, and that there can be no alternative to a sound democratic life. This is because all the experts of the parties and of all the bodies--regardless of their intellectual affiliations--are invited to participate with the government of the ruling National Democratic Party in formulating a unified policy for this national issue, which has preoccupied and still preoccupies public opinion and the government organs for many years. The reason is that this issue affects the lives of the vast majority of the homeland's sons and at the same time represents one of the main aspects of our economic problem. This holds particularly true if we realize that the volume of this subsidy amounted to well over 2 billion pounds this year--which definitely burdens the state general budget.

Certainly, we hope that the studies which will be conducted will rise to this national responsibility. I am confident that all these Egyptian thinkers are capable of finding solutions that would strike a balance between insuring that subsidies indeed reach their beneficiaries and saving our national economy from its problem so that it can forge ahead toward the vistas of construction that we desire for our country. Thus, we will have turned a page of our chronic problems through seriousness, science, and logic, as well as through sound democracy.

12839

CSO: 4504/41

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN RETURN TO ARAB FOLD

London AL-AHRAM: AL TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 15 Oct 84 p 7

[Editorial: "How Much Has Egypt Changed?"]

[Text] In the past 3 years, and by all criteria, Egypt has indeed changed. The most important thing about these changes is that they are taking place in the way of quiet time--a way in which man's features and appearance change quietly. However, because man keeps pace with himself day after day, he frequently does not feel this change and realizes that it has taken place only when he happens to look at one of his old pictures and discovers how much he has changed.

Should we compare the features of Egypt's present image to what they were only 3 years ago, what has changed in these features?

Things have returned to normal between Egypt and the Arab states at the official and semiofficial levels, after having earlier been confined to the popular level.

Egypt has returned to its position in the nonaligned bloc [word indistinct] which battles the waves to stand amid the ocean of the world, erect and independent of subservience to anything other than to its interests.

Egypt has returned to the Security Council as the representative of its continent after a long absence. Furthermore, Egypt has regained its prestige in the Islamic Organization.

The Egyptian ambassador has returned to Moscow, and the Egyptian ambassador has been recalled from Tel Aviv. Also, despite all the attempts that have been made, Egypt has kept to its attitude toward Israel and its conditions have remained unchanged concerning what Israel should do in Lebanon and toward the Palestinians and the issue of the Egyptian territory of Tabah.

Arab Egypt is in its trench facing its commitments and responsibilities without speeches and slogans, but through positive attitudes in which Egypt does not pretend doing any one any favor, and in which Egypt competes with nobody for leadership.

At home, Egypt holds the reins of stability. Despite all those who have tried to poison the wells of freedom and democracy, it is confirmed daily that this freedom is no passing cloud, but a permanent sky.

Egypt signifies work which adheres to plan and which tries--without pain killers and tranquillizers--to address the accumulated problems with realism and frankness, but without humoring others. From whom shall we hide our ills, while we are the patient and the doctor at the same time?

Egypt represents the law whose hands reach out for all the law violators, irrespective of their names and families.

Egypt has an opposition, Egypt is peaceful. Egypt has an identity.

However, these things do not mean that we have arrived. This is because we still have serious problems and many waves separate us from the shore of safety.

But this state of affairs does not preclude taking a look back at the past--a look that kindles the hope that we pin on the future.

12839

CSO: 4504/41

JOINT ACTION ON PALESTINIAN QUESTION DEVELOPED

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 12 Oct 84 p 3

[Text] One of the most important trends indicated by the Egyptian-Jordanian summit talks held in Amman has been the agreement on a joint move by the two countries concerning the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, on the understanding that this move is based on the Arab peace plan formulated by the summit conference that was held in Fes (the spiritual capital of Morocco)--and endorsed by the PLO. As is known, this plan advocates the right of all the states in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, including the Palestinian state.

The agreement on a joint move within this context confirms several facts. The first fact is that the Jordanian-Egyptian rapprochement does not indicate an inclination toward a specific settlement. However, and primarily, this rapprochement is aimed at a comprehensive, just, and lasting solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict to be achieved by incorporating the PLO (the Palestinian people's legitimate representative) in the negotiations that would lead to such a settlement. On the other hand, this rapprochement confirms that Egypt views the Camp David agreements as a means for a solution, not as a barrier in the way to the taking of other actions.

These two trends are illustrated in the resolution passed by the UN General Assembly [text missing]. The joint move stems from the fact that the international commitments to which Egypt adheres have not jeopardized Egypt's Arab obligations in accordance with article 15 of the (1978) Arab League peace treaty. These obligations entail abidance by the provisions of the Joint Arab Defense Pact.

The two countries' efforts aimed at convening the international conference at this juncture conform to the trend prevailing among the Arab states on the one hand, and to a strong international desire on the other. These efforts and this trend are reflected in the resolution passed by the UN General Assembly in its 38th session. Egypt had earlier participated in the adoption of this resolution that was passed by the General Assembly on behalf of the International Conference on the Palestinian Problem convened in September 1983. Therefore, the two countries' efforts aimed at convening the international peace conference will be accorded an unprecedented international support. Furthermore, prospects might come about for the success of the joint efforts in proportion to the two countries' ability to convince the two principal parties to the negotiations, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union, to be flexible in their two stances.

Strong support for the proposal to hold the conference is based on the fact that the two States are engaged in a process of negotiation which has not taken place since the first time, since 1948, when the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution on the passing of Security Council Resolution 242, 1948, and the Israeli's withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1948. This factor is highly efficacious in view of the commitment to the people of the two Arab states while they support the independence and sovereignty of the Palestinian people, and in light of the special relationship existing between each of these two states for the past decade and the other states. These commitments have turned each of the two states into an element in the efforts to achieve a settlement with the Arab-Israeli conflict. This factor is a strong factor in the two states' full participation in the preparation and realization of the conference in the actual holding of the anticipated conference as the specification of the relations that will prevail in the near future between the Arabs and Israel.

It is likely that, in their efforts to achieve a settlement, the two states will take a united stand based on the ideas and principles expressed in the 1948 resolution and to UN Secretary General's Report on the Middle East (1948-1949) and the 1949 resolution. These ideas prescribe a practical formula for the holding of the first session of preparation and actual convocation of the conference. Thus the conference will consist of one is consultative, the other is a preparatory conference. In the first stage is concerned, it would include all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, in addition to the United States, the Soviet Union, and the other states concerned.

With regard to the second stage, the preparatory conference, it should be confined to the Arab states, the PLO, and Israel, as well as the United States and the United Nations. It is likely that the UN General Assembly resolution does not specify the degree to which the conference should be held in the qualifications or the nature of the conference.

In connection with the role of the conference, the UN General Assembly, Egypt holds the view that the conference should play a role in specifying a consultative, not a preparatory, role for the conference. It is in preparing for, or in actually conducting, the conference. The Council's role is to plan and to act upon the recommendations of the conference. This signifies that, should the conference be held, the Council will play an executive role in the conference. The role of the Council will be performed through the implementation of the recommendations that will be made for guarantee and implementation of the conference. The role will be conducted at the conference.

To this vital role to be performed by the conference, it is recommended and implementing the conference. Egypt also recommends that the role of the UN General Assembly, that the UN General Assembly should play a role in the holding of the conference itself. The conference should be held in a neutral and peaceful and participate in the conference and the conference should be held in the will of the whole of the United Nations. The UN General Assembly that had supported the United Nations resolution on the Middle East, which will have contributed to the achievement of a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to the achievement of a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

NEW SUPPLY CARD RULES STIPULATED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 2 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by 'Ali al-Mughrabi: "The Individual Quotas in the Red Supply Cards Are Valued at 823 Milliemes"]

[Text] The new supply cards start to go into effect today. Transactions in red and green cards will begin throughout the republic simultaneously. Dr Muhammad Naji Shatlah, the minister of supply and domestic trade, has issued a decree on that. The disposition of quotas of tea, sugar and oil to grocers on the supply system started yesterday.

For the first time, the red cards are being connected to societies and grocers on the supply system, with the quota allotted to each person listed on the red supply cards. The owners of red cards will be treated the same way as the owners of green cards as far as the disposition of supply quotas goes.

'Abd-al-Rahman Fayiq, the first deputy minister of supply, made contacts all day yesterday with the supply managers in Cairo and the governorates.

Individual Quotas

'Abd-al-Khaliq 'Ajinah, the deputy minister, stated that the quotas per individual on the red supply cards, which are for oil, sugar and tea, are worth 825 milliemes. This price is unified throughout the republic. In the green cards the individual is paid 585 milliemes in supply quotas in Cairo; that is, the difference between the owners of green and red cards is 240 milliemes. The value of the individual quotas on the green cards in the coastal cities comes to 600 milliemes, that is, a difference of 225 milliemes, and in the other districts, villages and towns in the republic, the value of what the individual pays is 570 milliemes.

Basic Commodities

He said that the commodities which the Ministry of Supply is committed to dispose of to citizens are tea, sugar and oil; the remaining commodities whose distribution in the governorates some committees may see fit to add to

the supply cards may be attributed to the localities and the existing distribution system there.

'Abd-al-Muhsin Fayiq told AL-AKHBAR that it had been decided to distribute cards in January 1985 to people who failed to receive their cards promptly last September.

11887

CSO: 4504/27

NEW UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS, CURRICULUM POLICY ADVANCED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 820, 1 Oct 84 pp 19-23

[Article by Mahmud Murad: "AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI Opens the File on Education: Change Is Desired in University Admissions Policy"]

[Text] Three choices present themselves:

Reliance on the general secondary grade point average.

The holding of tests in addition to the average.

The opening of intermediate faculties to absorb the artificially enthusiastic.

One view calls for the improvement of secondary studies first of all.

The Education File

In his statement to the People's Assembly, the prime minister raised the idea of amending the university admission system. Proceeding from this point, in addition to the controversy that has arisen lately on the phenomenon of exceptions, and as a continuation of the campaign which AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI began, over the space of three issues, in which it reviewed and discussed free education in Egypt, its origins and development, describing the philosophy which governed education and determined objectives and also underlining the great effects of free education and how the general secondary had become a bottleneck because of tension and anxiety and the examinations to the universities had become a crucial problem with which every family was concerned and which cast its shadow over the whole society:

We are presenting the issue of the policy of university admissions. Since the issue is of the utmost importance, determining the fate of people, the fate of society, and its educational and social composition, it is now desirable and inevitable that we hear all views regarding it. Therefore we are opening the door to the discussion over the coming issues; we will summarize it at the end and will hold a conversation with officials regarding it.

Let us start with this opinion, which 'Abd-al-Khaliq Salih, the advisor to the Arab Maritime Transport Academy in Alexandria, has written.

Through my experience as a teacher, then as a person in charge of admissions and registration in Alexandria University for 15 years, then as an advisor on education in the Arab Maritime Transport Academy in Alexandria, and through the expertise I have acquired by participating in the activities of the Arab Association of Admissions and Registration Directors (ARAB ACARAO), whose headquarters are the Jordanian University, and the American Organization for Admissions and Registration Directors (AACRAO), and the comparative study of certain educational systems which I am performing now, I will offer a modest contribution on the subject that has been raised for discussion, which has been defined as the subject of the system of admissions to Egyptian universities.

At the outset, we will try to define the problem:

We are all agreed that it is inevitable that the method which is now followed in establishing preferences among students who apply to occupy the positions available in the universities, which is concentrated on a single criterion, represented by the overall total of the grades the student obtains in general secondary -- an examination which is held once at the end of a long academic year -- be improved upon. This academic year normally starts the preceding July, when the family normally starts raising the level of preparations by making early contracts with private teachers to prepare the children for the race over averages.

Studies which have been made on the general secondary examinations have proved that this examination in most of its subjects tends to measure the lowest levels of knowledge, that is, the ability to memorize and remember. It contains few questions measuring the ability to understand and apply, which has led to the widespread emergence of the phenomenon of private studies, to the degree where the people who obtained top positions in the total score in the general secondary examination this year stated that they relied on private studies.

Thus an analysis of the results of the first year (preparatory) examinations in the faculties of medicine and the faculties of engineering, the faculties which the people with the highest total scores go into, shows us that large numbers of these students have had to repeat because they had become accustomed to the method of teaching which relies on spoon feeding, and the curriculum and method followed in the secondary level have been responsible for putting the students in this state.

While we aspired to develop the system of admissions in the universities, on grounds that that is the system responsible for the inputs into university education, out of our conviction that the better the inputs are (accepting the quality of the teaching process in the university) the more we will be guaranteeing that the outputs of university education in Egypt will be [rest of sentence missing].

Determining the Goal First of All

Since we have been pursuing the admissions system for a period of almost a quarter century, and since the current stage our society is passing through has outstripped the goals this system was striving toward, so that as a result of that this system is now inadequate for meeting the requirements of the stage to come, and we are aspiring to another alternative system which will undoubtedly stick with us for another quarter of a century of time, the situation will require that an opportunity be given for further discussion and conversation.

In reality, I consider AL-AHRAM an important podium in Egypt and the Arab world, one which must lead the campaign so that participation may exist on all levels. It is true that the invitation has been clear, but the schools and universities, and indeed the People's Assembly, must be consulted through the holding of symposia and hearings. We, my dear Mr Murad, are deficient in democratic participation in the adoption of crucial decisions. This sort of issue which has been raised is a crucial one related to the future of the nation as embodied in its young people. There is nothing that calls for haste, but it must receive the study and discussion it deserves. While our reliance on the overall total in general secondary as a basis for making preferences among students in university admissions has spared our society talk and rumors, since everyone is equal in the face of this rigid criterion (the total), here we are going through a stage of freedom of opinion which some people use rightly or wrongly, and we must be concerned to arrive at clear objective criteria which will deepen young people's faith and affiliation, especially since the subject bears on their future and existence, because making haste in arriving at criteria which have not been carefully studied could lead to an exorbitantly costly shock as far as coming generations are concerned.

In order to shed further light on the subject of the problem, so that we can learn about its aspects and dimensions, we present the following main question:

What is the goal in reviewing the system for admitting students to the universities?

Perhaps there is more than one goal, embodied in the following:

1. Attempting to come up with other objective criteria which one can rely on as a basis for making preference among students in place of the total general secondary grade only.
2. Eliminating the tension and atmosphere of anxiety which occurs in the course of general secondary (during the studies and during the examination).
3. Giving the student an opportunity to choose the course of study which is compatible with his abilities and talents.
4. Giving the student the opportunity to be natural, settled and able to think and innovate.

5. Making optimum use of the student's time and the resources available (the cost of opportunities lost because of repeating).

While most universities are in agreement over the importance of the level of academic education of the student who applies for admission to them, or, in other words, the extent of the learning and knowledge the student has attained in the secondary level and the extent of his ability to continue his university education, we find that the universities differ among themselves over the bases that should be relied upon in determining preference among students who apply for admission to them. Perhaps the two most important bases relied upon in determining preference among the students are represented by the following:

A. The result of the final examination in the pre-university education level. This is what is known as the result of the conclusion of secondary studies, a basis that is widespread in many universities in spite of the criticism directed against it.

B. Admissions examinations, which are represented by the tests some universities hold for students applying to them and in the light of whose results it is determined whether the student is suited for admission or not.

These examinations might be examinations of aptitudes, examinations to measure the amount of academic and educational learning, or examinations which combine the two types. These examinations have been set out and drawn up by specialized scientific boards and are used mostly in the United States. This system helps the universities choose their students on a uniform basis, whatever the type of pre-university education of the people who have received it might be (this is compatible with the circumstances of universities to which students who have completed their pre-university studies in a context of diverse academic systems and various curricula apply).

In addition to these two bases, there are other complementary methods which some universities take into consideration, alongside the two major bases mentioned above. These are represented by the following:

1. The student's results in the secondary level as a whole.
2. The student's results in the secondary level in certain studies on which his university studies will depend.
3. The results of personal interviews which might be held for applicants.
4. Any additional expertise or skill the student possesses which might have a bearing on his studies. Reliance is placed on any of these methods in various proportions, helping the university take its final decision regarding acceptance.

Is the Alternative Suitable?

Is reliance on admissions testing, as a basis for establishing preference among students who have received the general secondary in filling the

limited positions in the institutions of higher learning, as an alternative to the aspirants toward, as an alternative to the aspirants toward.

If the answer is positive, that leads us to the group of following questions:

1. Is the proposed test the only criterion for selection?

That is, will the result of this test be the only criterion for establishing preference for admission?

We will thereby have spared the present pressure, which is concentrated on the student, by the use of these newly created tests, which have not stood on their own feet, in terms of formulation and codification or in terms of their organization, thereby wasting everything the student has achieved in the previous educational stages.

Conversely, will these tests be a criterion which it will be possible to rely on along with others, such as the results of the student's examination in secondary education?

2. What is the nature of the tests?

Are they aptitude tests to measure the extent to which the student has aptitude or ability for a particular course?

Or are they educational tests to measure concepts and learning? In the latter case they will be a repetition of the general secondary examination, or the failure to acknowledge the results which the examination has yielded up or to acknowledge that the nature of the examination itself was deficient in revealing the student's knowledge, and thus a loss of time, effort and money.

If the answer is positive, that they are aptitude tests, the situation requires that these tests be of a high level of reliability, consistency, truthfulness and objectivity, and be administered in a manner that is compatible with the student's health and the transfer of knowledge (and the transfer of knowledge to the student).

3. Are the tests to be used in all universities?

Will these tests be used in all universities in all countries?

Or will they be used only in some countries?

In this case, why should they be used only in some countries?

4. How will the results of the tests be used?

Will the results of the tests be used as a criterion for the selection of the student for admission to the university, or will they be used as a criterion for the selection of the student for admission to the university?

guarantee seriousness, discipline and pressure and will require that the universities finish declaring the results of their basic examinations before these tests are held?

Or will the holding of these tests after the completion of the universities take place in the same conditions as the general secondary education examinations, directly after the completion of the examination, thereby realizing savings of time, effort and costs. Although this system will allow all the students to take the tests even if some of them do not basically pass the general secondary examination?

Actually, this problem can be overcome by having the correction of the aptitude tests begin after the declaration of the general secondary results, relying on the secret figures of the students who have passed only.

A special examination can be held for students who have received the general secondary outside Egypt, and so will thereby be reducing effort and costs.

This is because to adapt the system within Egypt is to hold the aptitude tests after the announcements of the general secondary results, will require effort and exertion and will require many machines, detailed in the following:

Will the applications for the tests be made through a central admissions office?

Or will they be through a regional admissions office for each university separately?

Or will the people in each region apply to the faculty which is suited to their area of specialization at the university in the region to which they belong?

Will the student apply for admission to more than one university or more than one faculty?

What people will be allowed to apply for the aptitude tests?

For example, the number of students who receive the general secondary [degree] comes to about 100,000, of whom the sciences 75,000 and from the science section. Will these all be permitted to apply for the aptitude tests of medical faculties, or will the number of students in each faculty only be allowed to do so?

In reality what we require is that a system of comprehensive educational revolution. Therefore, the situation may be handled in a comprehensive manner, because the outputs from the secondary level, however, the inputs into the university level, the admission system is only a point of transition between the two levels, and the admission system has usually focused on achievement at the previous educational level.

While we consider that the overall grade total is not a suitable basis for making preference among students, and we should try to adopt criteria which are more expressive of the students' aptitudes and abilities, the situation is not focussed on the admissions process but is oriented basically toward the method of preparing and training the student during the secondary level.

Planning the Secondary Level

The situation requires that we review the general context of planning for the secondary level with its literary, scientific and mathematics branches and that we take stock of our considerations and needs, what we aspire to and our future plans with respect to education, so that in the end the development which we are seeking for the admissions system not fail to be concentrated on a firm foundation.

The development which is taking place throughout the world now as far as public education goes, of which we have adopted the first level, represented by basic education, leads us to what is called the comprehensive secondary school, the experiment on which we have embarked through the comprehensive secondary schools of Tanta and Sawhaj. In this school, what is known as the system of curricula is used, since that is divided into groups represented by:

The compulsory curriculum group (religion, Arabic, English).

The main specialization curriculum group.

The optional curriculum group.

There is no doubt that the presentation of any future admissions system must take this development which has occurred in the secondary level into account, so that it will turn out to be compatible with this development, and that this system must take into consideration a criterion which will rely on the achievements the student has realized in the subjects of specialization.

Specific Opinions Concerning the Problem

1. As long as the goal in setting out bases for choosing students to fill the limited places in universities is to choose the fittest student for the studies which are suited to him, it is inevitable that we should enlighten the students in a timely manner of the bases on which preference among them will be made and enlighten them of their abilities and aptitudes so that they will be able to take the right decision at the right time.

While this is to be considered the first important decision by which the student enters the good society, we must provide every guarantee that this decision will succeed by giving all the information and data and preparing the codified tests which will help reveal the students' aptitudes.

2. Giving the opportunity to discuss and hold a dialogue on the subject of the admissions system and setting aside schools and universities to contribute opinions and considering this a good occasion for raising a democratic

dialogue on an important subject which influences the future of the young people of the nation.

3. Rapidly developing studies in the secondary level and adopting the system of curricula, rather than the current inflexible two-branch system.

4. Resolving the current confusion between the right to enroll in a university and restricting this right to people who have received general secondary the same year, by giving students an opportunity to apply to enroll whenever their circumstances so permit.

5. Using more than one index, with the goal of arriving at an integrated criterion for ruling on the student's aptitude for university study in the area of specialization he wishes. These indices are embodied in the following:

A. The overall total the student has obtained in the general secondary.

B. The student's total in the curricula of specialization (during the whole secondary level), in a manner which will enable him to avoid [sic] eliminating the pressures that occur just during the third year.

C. The students' grades in the aptitude test.

One can translate this integrated criterion into units of measurement (units) where each index will be allotted a number of units of measurements, for example:

The total general secondary grade will be allotted 50 units of measurement.

The total of the curricula of specialization will be allotted 20 to 30 units of measurement.

The aptitude tests will be allocated 20 to 30 units of measurement.

That is, one unit of measurement in this field will be equal to eight points in the overall total (the overall total of 400 points is equal to 50 units of measurement, and a unit equals eight points).

For this reason, the decision to give preference in filling a place will not be concentrated just on the general secondary examination or on the efforts made in the three secondary years, but will also be distributed among all the specialization subjects during the secondary level, in addition to the overall total and the aptitude test.

Opening Educational Channels

The reason why the problem of admissions to the universities has become aggravated is that the places available in them are limited while the numbers of students applying for the general secondary examination each successive year are increasing, so that the students who have been admitted to technical institutes have become accustomed to applying again, while reserving

their places in these institutes. If we allow students to apply for admission to the university when they meet the conditions (in accordance with the abovementioned criteria), that will give each individual a chance to be productive in his society, as long as he is confident that the opportunity for completing the studies are available when he meets the conditions for doing so.

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BRIEFS

NEW PUBLICATION--The first issue of AL-WAFD AL-JADID, a new party newspaper, appeared this week. The new newspaper is put out by the Youth Committee of the Wafd Party. In the first issue there is a leading item entitled: President Husni Mubarak will announce a decision to appoint a vice-president in the next three months. The newspaper says, "It is said that the new deputy will not be a military man, now will he be from the National Party. The same sources denied the frequently-heard report that the counselor Abu Ghazalah would be appointed to the position of vice-president." The newspaper said that its sources have close ties to the president's office. It is noteworthy that the newspaper published a picture of Dr Usama al-Baz next to the article. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 394, 8 Sep 84 p 11] 12727

RESTRICTIONS ON PALESTINIAN STUDENTS EASED--AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that the Egyptian Foreign Ministry is now considering revising the conditions for admission of Palestinian students into Egyptian universities and institutes by reserving a percentage of acceptance slots for incoming Palestinian students and by easing the conditions for their entry into the universities. This initiative from the Egyptian Foreign Ministry is in accordance with a request from the Palestinians that restrictions on the acceptance of Palestinian students be eased. The Egyptian universities had placed restrictions on the acceptance of incoming Palestinian students after the resolutions of the Baghdad Conference. [Text] [London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 18 Sep 84 p 3] 12727

CSO: 4504/30

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS EXAMINED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1456, 28 Sep 84 p 69

[Article: "Barren Land and Productive Sea in Mauritania"]

[Text] World Bank estimates place the Gross National Product of Mauritania at approximately \$530 million. National Product per capita is \$330. It is known that the population of Mauritania is between 1,634,000 and 1,728,000, spread over an area of 1,030,777 square kilometers.

The Mauritanian economy is dependent mainly on mineral resources, especially iron which makes up 40 percent of the country's exports. It is the prime source of the country's foreign currency reserves. The sector of agriculture and fishing is in second place in its contribution to the GNP.

The Mauritanian economy suffers from numerous problems attributable to unsuitable climatic conditions and the increasingly grave world economic recession. Drought has struck the agricultural seasons which were already suffering a slump. Large areas of land are turning into desert because of the drought which has been devastating the country for long periods. This leads rural inhabitants and Bedouins to migrate to the cities and causes a radical change in traditional methods of agriculture.

The agricultural seasons have been suffering from drought since 1982. This experience has forced the Mauritanian government to turn its attention toward the fishing sector. The Atlantic coast of Mauritania is a very rich area for fishing. In 1982 the state began developing this sector which is second only to minerals on the list ranking Mauritanian exports.

In 1981 the fishing sector, employing approximately 15,000 persons, made up 3.3 percent of the GNP. Its production during that year amounted to 143,375 tons as compared with 77,063 tons in 1980. At present the Mauritanian fleet consists of 70 industrial fishing boats and 160 other vessels, including 50 which are equipped with refrigeration units. In fact the fleet is still unable to cover the Mauritanian coast which is 800 kilometers long.

On the other hand, the Mauritanian economy bears a heavy foreign debt burden. Since 1979 the state has been working to implement austerity budgets in order to curb the increase in foreign debt and to concentrate most of its investments for the development of production sectors, especially mining, agriculture and fishing.

However, the austerity policy has not prevented an increase in both the balance of trade and the balance of payments deficit. This increase is due mainly to a drop in world demand for mineral raw materials on the one hand and a rise in consumer goods and energy imported from abroad on the other hand.

In Mauritania industrial production is limited to certain textile mills, steel plants and factories for explosives used in mines. The Fourth Five-Year Plan of 1981-1985 includes programs for the construction of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises capable of accommodating the labor force, exploiting the country's abundant raw materials and producing goods to take the place of imports which raise the balance of trade deficit. In fact, three factories have been built. They produce soap, cement and foodstuffs.

Foreign aid, especially Arab aid, has reduced the size of both the balance of trade and balance of payments deficit. It has contributed to the growth of foreign currency reserves. Arab oil nations and international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the European Development Fund and the Japanese Foreign Economic Cooperation Fund, have participated in the financing of Mauritanian development projects.

With foreign aid, Mauritania hopes to implement a number of agricultural projects in the Senegal River basin. They will provide foodstuffs security for the country. With regard to mining, it hopes to raise its production of iron ore to 15 million tons annually by the late 1980's.

Since development projects require more energy, the state sought to start the Nouadhibou refinery operating again in 1982 to refine oil, through a loan granted by Algeria. The capacity of this refinery is 1 million tons annually, and the present oil consumption of Mauritania is 200,000 tons annually. The state hopes that use of the refinery will make it possible to export surplus refined oil.

The generally "barren" conditions of the Mauritanian economy make it clear that the most ready fields of investment are fishing, fish canning and the manufacture of fish products. Aside from that, policy and drought are joined in an alliance to transform other areas into barren land.

KING'S DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICIES ASSESSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 23, 24, 25 Oct 84

[Series of articles by Paul Balta: "Morocco, or "The State Is He"]

[23 Oct 84 p 5]

[Text] 1. By Order of the King...

Fes--"Don't you find shocking the splendor of the marriage festivities for Princess Lalla Meriem when a third of Moroccans are living below the poverty line? Do you think that these festivities are really popular?" These two questions have often been asked by Europeans, sometimes guests of Hassan II, of journalists and Moroccan leaders. Yes, it must be admitted that the festivities have really shown their popular nature by the participation of groups coming from all the provinces, by the size of the crowd in the streets of the spiritual capital, and by the interest in them shown in the kingdom's villages. This was doubtless because in this country of deeply rooted traditions the celebration retained its ancestral qualities and served to relieve the dullness of the daily life.

The reservations voiced by Moroccans came from Muslimist activists who, looking toward Teheran, were questioning the very principle of the monarchy, or extreme leftist militants pointing out, with fancy cost calculations, the "scandalous" nature of the royal family's wealth. In both cases, they were minority groups of limited influence. What if you ask the people? They do not hesitate: "The king is rich? That is normal, he is the king. He has palaces? So do presidents of republics. Morocco is not going to receive heads of state in a shack!" What if you mention their problems? They put the responsibility on the "corrupt administration," on the "drought," on the Sahara war "imposed by Algeria," on the "incapable ministers," on "profiteers," but not on the king.

Boumediene, himself, after desiring the fall of the king at the beginning of the Sahara conflict, changed his mind after concluding that Hassan II, whose authority is indisputable, represented a symbol for the majority of Moroccans and was a factor for unity for the kingdom. It is also worth noting: When the king speaks on television everyone listens, when it is a minister, they turn down the sound and chat. In 1982, the king personally called on the people not to kill sheep for the Aid and Adha (feast of sacrifice) because of the drought: everyone obeyed. Not in 1984. The explanation frequently

heard in the street: "This year, the king did not speak on television. He simply issued a communique at the last minute. In this way he gave poor people who did not have money to buy a sheep a chance to save face, while leaving the others an out..."

Inexorable Logic

An intellectual close to the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) criticized the "flaws in the regime," but nevertheless concluded with this quip: "If the idea occurred to Hassan II to proclaim a republic and be a candidate for the presidency, he would win, without trickery, 99 percent of the vote. However, being clever, he would have this percentage lowered to make it credible." A communist party member explained laboriously how the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS) reconciles loyalty to the king, defense of Islam, and class struggle. Then he added: "Some 20 years ago De Gaulle said: Algeria's revolution is behind it, but Morocco's is still ahead. Four or 5 years ago, the CIA predicted that Hassan II would be overthrown by one of the military. However, our king is still there, and our army has regained our Saharan provinces. That does not mean that everything is going well, and we are the first to criticize the mistakes."

This illustrates Morocco's complexity, with its contradictions and paradoxes, at a time when the sovereign has clearly won out right down the line in face of the parties, in particular those of the "national movement," the bastion of resistance, and even, at one time, opposition to the monarchy, when he came to succeed his father, who died in February 1961.

Like Mohammed V, Hassan II has never ceased to affirm the preeminence of the throne over the parties. It is the king that determines and shoulders the national destiny, he repeats, because "the monarchic regime represents a 14 centuries dialogue between the Moroccan sovereigns and their people," and the monarch, as "the spokesman for the profound aspirations of his people," is also "the leaven of their unity."¹ Portrayed as "dividers," the parties must confine themselves to defending the interests of a social element and contribute to managing the everyday life, on condition that they support the king in the "national causes." This inexorable logic leads the government to crush any opposition figure presuming to establish a distinction between the interests of the monarchy and those of the country.

Thus, the old Istiqlal Party, deriving its legitimacy from the liberation struggle, of which it was the spearhead, envisaged at the time of independence that it would compete with the monarchy in the conduct of affairs. Born in 1959 of a split in the party of Allal El Fassi, the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP) sought to be, under the leadership of Medi Ben Barka, Abderrahim Bouabid and Abdallah Ibrahim,² modernist and socialist. It thus added to its "historical role" that of "legitimate spokesman of the popular demands," which put it in direct competition with a government whose latest slogan was "revolution of the king and people."

At the beginning of the 1960's, these two organizations of the "national movement" dominated the political life, with Istiqlal alone getting 40 percent of the vote in elections, compared to 15.33 percent in 1984, as a result of

its aging and the pressures of administration. The USFP (and previously the UNFP) will never succeed in defining a clear strategy and holding to it. It wavers between revolutionary intransigence and open contradiction of the regime, which lead it to propose establishment of socialism (or, speaking softly, a republic), and reformist caution, which prompts it to compromise and negotiation with the regime.

criticized the king's initiative when he accepted a self-determination referendum for Sahara at the OAU summit in Nairobi. He found himself back in prison from 8 September 1981 to 27 February 1982: the king cannot be suspected--still less accused--of bargaining away or betraying the national interest.

Meanwhile, Hassan II allowed the parties to multiply, regarding them as a "leadership training" school.³ In November 1983, in order to prepare for the referendum on Western Sahara and the legislative elections, he formed a national unity government in which the six main organizations--including the USFP--were represented by ministers of state. From then on, Mr Bouabid, freed by the king's pardon, like M'Hamed Boucetta, successor to Allal El Fassi, were no longer regarded as "historical leaders," but rather as government assistants like the others. The king had succeeded in imposing his principle, which can be summarized as follows: the debate is open to those who enter the system and accept the rules of the game; the others are excluded, and they are made to pay dearly for it, as demonstrated by, among others, those imprisoned for their opinions.

Today, aside from the Constitutional Union established in 1983 to become the "king's party"--corresponding to the main party of the presidential majority in the Fifth Republic, the other large organizations, either old--USFP, Istiqlal, Popular Movement--or new--National Rally of Independents (RNI), National Democratic Party (PND), are almost equally matched, so that the king can broaden the government majority depending on what tone he wants to give to his future action.

The monarchy had faced up to another danger: the military. Mohammed V had clashed with the National, Popular and Revolutionary Liberation Army. He ended up dissolving it and integrating some of its elements into the Royal

Armed Forces (FAR) that he created, but which was composed 80 percent of Berbers. It was FAR officers, most of them Berbers, who under the leadership of Oufkir tried to assassinate Hassan II in 1971 and 1972 to establish a military regime of the Nasir or Qadhdhafi type. With remarkable patience, the king reduced the proportion of Berbers to about 60 percent and reorganized the officer corps.

Weakened Opposition

The disappearance on 25 January 1983 of Gen Ahmed Dlimi, who combined the responsibilities at the palace with command of the army of the south, removed a potential danger. His duties were distributed among four officers, with command of the southern zone assigned to Staff Colonel Abdelaziz Bennani Fassi, French trained, and a Muslim very committed to his Arab identity. With the local situation having been progressively corrected since 1981, and with about 100,000 men--half of the army--now in the desert, military observers consider there to be no risk of a coup at the moment. On the other hand, there could be a different situation if Hassan II suddenly departed: would the military agree to see the parties regain leadership by benefitting from the youth of the succeeding prince, Sidi Mohammed, whom his father is diligently training?

By downgrading the parties, Hassan II has made Parliament less partisan: it no longer has in its ranks the capability for radical opposition, since the USFP is tamed, the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS) only has two deputies, and the extreme left one. The drawback is that the chamber is less credible. In the last legislative elections, the electoral turnout was under 30 percent in several large towns, reflecting the skepticism of the voters.

The underground opposition movements currently have neither charismatic leaders nor real networks. The Islamists are divided, and the "leftists," who broke with the USFP and PPS, regarding them as too "lukewarm," are few in number. It is also significant that the Popular Movement, Berber, does not have a real organization: that is as much a result of the personality of its leader, Mahjoubi Aherdane, as of the fear of being suspected of developing a subversive structure at a time when the Berber cultural demands are becoming more insistent in the Maghreb.

Thus, since the governments have not succeeded in mastering the economic and social crisis, the despair of the poor is expressed in urban violence, as occurred in Casablanca in 1981 and in several towns in January 1984, and in peasant revolts. Morocco is not now in a "revolutionary situation," however it is threatened by revolts. Since the traditional institutions reflect in a limited way the popular demands, the government runs the risk of seeing more and more often the street rising directly against it.

One of the best planners in the country told us: "In order to combat unemployment, bureaucracy, corruption, glaring inequalities, production inadequacies, and the debt, we must undertake thorough structural reform. The system is such that this appears impossible. However, today the king has a possibility of carrying out reform, if he chooses capable and determined individuals. Paradoxically, he remains the main hope, because he is the only

one with the necessary authority to impose the reforms." However, will the sociological burdens and the difficulties of all kinds permit him to do so?

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1. Hassan II press conference of 25 October 1963.
 2. The latter remained at the head of the UNFP, from which the USFP broke off in 1975.
 3. Cf. Mustapha Sehim in REVUE JURIDIQUE, POLITIQUE ET ECONOMIQUE DU MAROC, No 12, 1982. The author devoted a number of studies to the political parties in Nos 30 to 40 (March to June 1984) of the journal LE MESSAGE (Casablanca), directed by Abdallah Stouki.

[24 Oct 84 p 7]

[Text] II. The Economic Noose.

The parties downgraded, the Parliament weakened, the military put in step, the opposition movements (Islamists, "leftists") deprived of prestigious leaders and organized networks, Hassan II remains sole captain (LE MONDE of 23 October).

Casablanca--Since the bloody riots of June 1981, the economic capital of Morocco has changed its image. A megalopolis of more than 3 million people, formerly dirty, dusty, and oppressive, Casablanca is today also noisy but it appears airy, clean and even stylish, with its small flowered squares. Large arteries have been cut through the shanty towns, for security reasons, and all along the route to the airport there are public apartments, with gardens and fountains in front, beginning to replace the hovels.

Mohamed Abied, president of the Grand Casablanca community and member of the Constitutional Union, explained to us: "The king said after the events: Six years from now there must be no more shanty towns. We hope to win this bet." He emphasized that nine out of 14 districts were managed by his party. In fact, this was not an ad hoc operation to make the city suitable to welcome the Islamic summit held there at the beginning of the year, but rather a long-term project aimed at avoiding a repetition of the explosions of 1965 and 1981, and at "Moroccanizing" the old colonial city so that it would finally have its own personality.

The Casablanca-Rabat highway, whose construction had been lagging for a number of years, is proceeding toward completion. A fast and comfortable train, called the Aouita, after the running champion, takes one to the political capital in 50 minutes. Other towns have also been transformed, at state initiative and with its help, such as El Aioun and Smara in Western Sahara, or by initiative of local elected officials, such as Essaouira, the former Mogador. Praiseworthy efforts, but you need to have heard Mrs Fatima Alaoui, an unfortunate candidate in the Rabat shanty towns in the last elections tell about her journey through hell to face up to all that had to be done and was not done, for lack of resources.

In its issue of 31 August, on the eve of the day the Moroccans approved the "marriage" with Libya--a whiff of oxygen for their economy--the weekly LA VIE ECONOMIQUE ran the front page headline: "Many Companies on the Edge of Suffocation." One businessman, disillusioned, told us: "The government does not have any money, and no one is paying anyone any more. What can we do, then?" On paper, if we are to believe the figures, it is Morocco as a whole that it is on the brink of bankruptcy. "And yet," as one diplomat said, "we are hanging on by our fingernails, but we are hanging on!"

Cooperative Spirit

Since 1979, the year of the second "oil shock" that also witnessed the spectacular and lasting decline in the phosphate price, of which Morocco is the world's third-ranked producer but leading exporter, the experts regularly announce the collapse of the Moroccan economy. Every year the situation gets a little worse. In 1978, Mauritania, ruined by 3 years of the Sahara conflict, withdrew from the war after the military overthrew President Ould Daddah, and the Polisario Front hoped that similar upheavals would force Morocco to accept a negotiated solution. It has not happened. Morocco stands firm.

How can we explain this mystery? Or this miracle? First, the kingdom has substantial human and material resources, and though its economic situation is not as good as Tunisia's or Algeria's, it is, nevertheless, compared to many developing countries, one of the most industrialized. Also, despite the rural and urban revolts, its old traditions give it greater power of resistance than young states that are less structured and less rooted in history.

Abdelmalek Charkaoui, secretary general of planning and president of the Moroccan Forecasting Association, founded in 1979, told us: "We must also recognize the cooperative or associative spirit and the social solidarity that mean that the poorest will have his kesra (bread) and that no one will die of hunger. It is also forgotten that there is a hidden economy, underground, representing 30 to 40 percent of our GDP but whose production does not appear either in the international statistics or in the official Moroccan statements."

We should add the solidarity of the monarchies, which is evidenced in significant aid by the emirates, and Saudi Arabia in particular. Riyadh, which in the long run was finding the burden a little heavy, also suggested to Libya that it get closer to Morocco, and the "marriage" that has resulted no doubt surpasses all its hopes. Finally, there are the kingdom's own efforts. Under the stimulus of Karim Lamrani, president of the Moroccan Phosphates Office and currently prime minister, it is processing more and more of this raw material to make up for the drop in price.

The fact remains that, even though the army has strengthened its positions in Western Sahara, 7 years of war, added to the drought, the world crisis, and management without forecasting, are causing a permanent hemorrhage that threatens to leave the country weakened for a long time, and that the situation there remains particularly explosive. The debt total--\$12 billion--represents 90 percent of the GDP, while in Algeria the debt is 15 billion but

only one-third of the GDP. Likewise, per capita income--\$900 per year, or some 20 francs per day--is markedly lower than that of Tunisia (\$1,500) and that of Algeria (\$2,200), without mentioning that of Libya, even though it has declined from 12,000 to 8,000 dollars.

Great Inequalities

The country has almost 25 million people (including emigrants), of whom 60 percent are under 20 years old, and this population will double between now and the year 2000. Unemployment continues to worsen and the inequalities to become more pronounced. Without mentioning the fortunes of the private sector that in large part escape tax, it is noted that in the semipublic sector the scale of incomes ranges from 1 to 300, while it is 1 to 10 in the United States and 1 to 12 in Switzerland. As for the public sector, the low income level is such (700 dirhams minimum per month in the city and 500 dirhams in the country) that it inevitably produces corruption.

Morocco also suffers from two handicaps: lack of oil, and inadequate grain production (3 million tons out of the 6 million tons consumed). The cover rate of imports of crude by exports of phosphate and its byproducts has fallen from 259 percent in 1973 to 173 percent in 1976, 130 percent in 1978, and 77 percent in 1983. In parallel, the overall cover rate of food product purchases by sales of fruit and vegetables fell from 155 percent in 1973 to 86 percent in 1976, but 89 percent in 1983, thanks to a better harvest. The overall cover rate of imports by exports was 53.5 percent in 1981, 47.9 percent in 1982, and 57.5 percent in 1983, with purchases abroad having been reduced to the minimum.

Foreign exchange receipts were provided mainly by emigrant workers (7 billion dirhams, of which more than 4 billion was sent by Moroccans in France), phosphates (6.3 billion, of which 3.3 billion was for raw material, 2.1 billion for phosphoric acid--an increase of 34 percent--and 920 million for chemical fertilizers, which rose by 97 percent), agriculture (3.7 billion), and tourism (3.2 billion, of which 2.6 billion was real receipts after deduction of spending by Moroccan tourists abroad).

The structure of the economy is such that the planned entry of Spain into the Common Market--in addition to that of Portugal--makes the prospects disturbing. The appropriation law for 1984 was as follows: 38.8 billion in expenditures (19.2 billion for operation, 10.1 billion--in fact, 8 billion--for investment, and 9.5 billion for public debt), and 32.5 billion in revenues, of which 8 billion is loans, or a deficit of 6.3 billion, added to those of the previous years. The Spanish competition will directly affect an economy already in difficulty.

IMF Recommendations

In view of this situation, the IMF is urging the kingdom to move toward food self-sufficiency by increasing grain yields and converting from citrus growing, two operations that take time. Moreover, reducing or stopping citrus production means loss of foreign exchange. However, exporting it also poses problems: Rungis is 20 hours from Valence and Alicante by truck, and 36 hours

from Tangiers, because the Spanish do not seem in a hurry to build a bridge or a tunnel with Morocco, so Moroccan vehicles have to be transshipped. The other prospective markets also present drawbacks: Eastern Europe requires counterpart sale of material that the Moroccans do not want, Black Africa has no money, and the Gulf, like Libya, has a small population.

On the industrial level, the prospects are not much more encouraging for several products, including textiles. The government has thus tried to attract foreign investment. However, along with some locations that have definitely succeeded, such as Thomson producing electronic components in Casablanca, there have been a number of failures or bankruptcies, because investors are discouraged by the paperwork, corruption, and particularly by a finicky and bureaucratic customs service.

The IMF is also urging "privatization." The government has begun to embark on this course by eliminating the export marketing office and by converting the PTT ministry to an office, which, according to Maati Bouabid, president of the Constitutional Union and former prime minister, is a step toward privatization. However, this policy has its limits, such as the freedom and true prices called for by the IMF, which, as Habib Malki, one of the best Moroccan economists, a USFP member, put it, "is imposing dieting cures on already anemic economies." Certainly, support for basic commodities will amount to 4 billion dirhams in 1985, however this is the price for maintenance of social peace, as the riots against high cost of living in January, after a series of price increases, indicated. The number of poor is still too large for the government to permit with impunity the selling of bread and some other essential commodities at their "real" price.

The current impasse is due in large part to the fact that for 10 years successive governments had been satisfied to deal with the shortages by pursuing a short-term policy. No advance strategy was developed. Mr Cherkaoui told us: "The paradox here is that the security services are computerized, but not the economic system, though what we should be doing exactly is developing forecasts and defining action methods." Mr Malki, whose latest book is titled "Beyond the Statistics, What Development?"* moves in the same direction in emphasizing that the Moroccan Forecasting Association is concentrating on these problems.

The economists are in agreement on one point: Morocco needs a strong government, a closely knit team composed of capable individuals determined to really attack the problems. The urgency is even greater since 1986 will be the year of maximum repayment of the debt, and the year when the effects of Spain's entry into the EEC will begin to be felt. Obviously, eyes are turning toward the king. It is said that "his hands are more free to act now that he has loosened the noose around Morocco by pulling off a very fine success: the state union with Libya."

* Ed. Maghrebines, Casablanca, 1983. Mr Malik expressed his views during a series of classes at the College de France in 1984.

[25 Oct 84 p 5]

[Text] The "Fine Stroke" of the Union.

Rabat--The Moroccan leaders are clear-sighted: they admit that at the next OAU summit in November the SDAR will in all likelihood be admitted without causing the departure of the moderate countries or the breakup of the organization. Having strengthened their military situation in Western Sahara, they even give the impression of wanting it to be admitted.

Minister of Interior Driss Basri told us: "As the king has said, if they enter, we leave. However, it is the OAU that will lose, because Morocco, a founding member, is one of five countries that are up-to-date on their dues. Also, we will no longer be bound by the OAU resolutions, in particular those on the self-determination referendum in the Sahara. Furthermore, the referendum on the Arab-African Union and the legislative elections have, in our view, confirmed the Moroccan identity of the Saharan provinces."

Already disappointed at not being able to convene the 19th OAU summit in Tripoli in 1982, Colonel Qadhafi is building up resentment toward his ally Algeria: he says that the latter prevented him from achieving the presidency of the OAU the following year at Addis Ababa by having Colonel Mengistu elected. In his view, Algeria wants to exercise an exclusive policy influence on the Polisario Front, though Libya has provided 80 percent of the aid it needs, and also, by its Sahelian policy of rapprochement with Niger, Mali, and Mauritania, has checked its plan for a united states of Sahara. Finally, it opposes Tripoli's annexation of the Aouzou Strip in northern Chad. The meeting between Chadli and Hassan II on 26 February 1983 at Oujda, the signing of the treaty of fraternity and concord between Algeria and Tunisia (19 March), and their refusal to admit Libya as long as the issues in suspense had not been solved, all emphasized Colonel Qadhafi's isolation. Tunisia wants an end to the training of Tunisian opposition members in Libyan camps and delimitation of the continental shelf in the Gulf of Gabes, while Algiers demands recognition of the marking of its current border with Libya and an end to aid to opposition members, including Ben Bella, who has reportedly received \$20 million from Tripoli.

Hassan II "Goes All-Out"

Hassan II has also experienced some disappointments. At the Arab summit at Fes he obtained approval of the peace plan that by implication recognized Israel, and he took risks by allowing the World Jewish Congress to meet in Morocco in the hope that Washington would achieve progress in solution of the Middle East conflict. In vain! Disappointment also when the 19th OAU summit "urged" Morocco to open direct negotiations with the Polisario. The king thus noted with interest the visit of a depressed Qadhafi to Riyadh from 8 to 12 June 1983 and whispered an idea to the Saudis, who passed it on to their guest: why not come to an understanding with Hassan II? The idea took its course.

On 30 June 1983, the colonel landed at Rabat in full uniform. The first contact was icy: awaited by the king, ministers and diplomatic corps, his

plane landed 2 hours 30 minutes late, at the hour of breaking the Ramadan fast. One witness said: "However, taking him in hand, Hassan II undertook to win him over, talking about history, Arabism, Islam, drawing great strategic scenarios, in short, he went all-out." He succeeded so well that the "brother colonel" canceled a visit to Nouakchott, with government officials already at the airport, and lengthened his visit, during which he met, among others, relatives of the Polisario leaders. On his departure on 4 July, the king gave him the accolade. Qadhdhafi confided to his colleagues: "If Hassan had been born in Tripoli, he would have been my best friend."

The turn-around in alliance, which was confirmed by the union, dates from this meeting. The bilateral contacts were stepped up, but slowed down beginning in March 1984, to resume in June. We do not know exactly when Hassan II conceived of the union plan, whose text was prepared by two French jurists, Georges Vedel and Jean-Rene Dupuy. We do know, however--was it a diplomatic maneuver?--that he proposed this union to Algeria in May, under terms almost identical to those of the future Oujda treaty (LE MONDE of 29 September). Since the Algerian counterproposals were not acceptable to him--that was predictable--he turned toward Colonel Qadhdhafi, who had expressed his regret, in his speech at the end of Ramadan, that he had nothing to offer his people on the 15th anniversary of his coming to power on 1 September 1969.

The former Libyan minister of interior, Mohamed Zoui, went to Rabat on 13 July bearing a message from Colonel Qadhdhafi to all the Arab heads of state. The king told him: "To crush Israel, as the brother colonel asks, would require the participation of the residents, in particular the Palestinians. For the present, I offer him a union." Surprised, he left and returned 3 days later with a list of questions: how could the revolutionary Jamahiriya unite with a kingdom, when their policies are different and they are in opposing camps in the OAU, in the Arab World, and on the East-West level? The king replied over the telephone. "What will Washington say?," Qadhdhafi asked further. "What will Moscow say?," replied Hassan II. It was then agreed that in the union each would keep its policies.

Respect for an Adversary

The king proposed signing the agreement on neutral territory, in France, for example. Qadhdhafi replied: "I do not want to conclude an Arab-African union among Europeans." And he chose Oujda, to give a lesson to President Chadli, who, contrary to what was then stated, was no more "invited" than King Fahd of Arabia. The meeting was set for 13 August, and it was Hassan II himself who edited the treaty preamble, as Mr Basri assured us, although some claimed to recognize a "Qadhdhafian style."

The psychological element was the determining factor in Colonel Qadhdhafi's turn-around. Both realistic and sentimental, which makes him versatile, the colonel is aware that, outside Nasir, who had high regard for him (and who, since he died in 1970, did not have time to change his opinion toward him), the friendly heads of state to whom he had proposed union had accepted in order to benefit from his aid, while treating him with haughtiness, if not contempt. Yet here was Hassan II, the heir to a monarchy of 14 centuries, his opponent right down the line, showing him respect and proposing what was most

dear to him and what he had not dared to hope for: a union superceding the ideological differences, a kind of "third way," close to what he had described in the Green Book.

Some other factors tended to bring the two "players" closer. Since their double diplomatic failure at the 19th OAU summit, they had suffered from a kind of isolation complex, for which they held Algeria responsible. Colonel Qadhdhafi believes that Chad is part of "Libya's vital area" and has annexed the Aouzou Strip, while Hassan II, who wants to go down in history as the "unifier,"* considers that having made the "sacrifice" of Mauritania he cannot give up Western Sahara, the link with Black Africa, serving as a counterbalance to Algerian Sahara.

Complementary Economies

Thanks to the union, the king had neutralized Libya, the main supplier of arms to the Polisario, which enabled his army to build the third "wall" of defense in record time (December 1983 to May 1984). At a time when Kuwait and Jordan are coming closer to Moscow, the union enables him to give a discreet warning to Washington: a monarchy can unite with an ally of Moscow, but it can also be "recovered" if the West shows a minimum of respect for Arab aspirations. Finally, Rabat can hope for some morsels of Libyan manna, despite Tripoli's difficulties.

Since the economies of the two countries are complementary, Libya could accept some 100,000 Moroccan agricultural workers and technicians, high-level supervisors, and soldiers who could contribute to maintenance and operation of underused equipment. The danger would be that they would return to Morocco with an opposition mentality. The union has also enabled Colonel Qadhdhafi to deliver a severe blow to the Libyan opposition, which had enjoyed special support by Rabat. The heavy weapons used in May during the attack on Azizia Barracks in Tripoli were said to have been provided by the Moroccans prior to the reconciliation. Also, despite an official denial, it appears that the Moroccan secret services turned over to Colonel Qadhdhafi his principal rival, Maj Omar Meheichi, the former number three of the Libyan revolution. In November 1983, en route to Riyadh, the pilot of the plane transporting him pretended to refuel at Malta but in fact landed at Syrte, where the formerly free officer found himself facing Colonel Qadhdhafi surrounded by soldiers; since then he has disappeared, like Imam Moussa Sadr in 1978.

A double advantage of the union for the colonel: it serves as a cover for him and enables him to save face in withdrawing his troops from Chad. However, even though he was doing an about-turn, he could remind the king that on 25 February 1984 he had expressed understanding of Libya's territorial claims, explaining that "some parts of its territory had been amputated" from it, and "all its Arab and Arab-speaking population had been snatched and nibbled away." On the other hand, though the issue does not seem to be yet on the agenda, Tripoli will not fail to support its new ally when it decides to take back the Spanish presidios of Ceuta and Melilla.

* By analogy with his father, Mohammed V, nicknamed "the liberator."

Useful Card

Did Hassan II, in exchange for his good offices in respect to the Libyans, try to obtain greater understanding for the Saharan conflict by President Mitterrand during the latter's "private" visit to Fes. The Algerians say they are convinced of it. They again criticize France for having been "neutral only in words, since, as the THE WASHINGTON POST pointed out, its military aid to Morocco is three times that of the United States, which is \$77 million. "Thus," they say, "Paris is encouraging Morocco to seek a military solution." However, during the summer, Paris strengthened its military cooperation with Nouakchott to dissuade Rabat from underaking direct or indirect action aimed at destabilizing the regime of President Haidalla.

In any case, Morocco, surprised by the strength of the hostile reactions to the marriage with Libya, is trying to calm the alarm of all sides. It has also tried to erase the "revenge" against Algeria aspect. The fact remains that for Rabat and Tripoli the Oujda treaty is a means of pressure which may have real effect in the short term. It could also become a negotiating card.

Hassan II had said to President Chadli in regard to Western Sahara: "Leave me the stamp and the flag, and the rest is negotiable." Algeria had then seemed favorable to a federal type of solution. Asked about this, the Moroccan officials reply: "If drawn out too long, the king's offer in 1983 risks losing its reason for being." However, what would happen if the SDAR once again "voluntarily and temporarily renounced" a seat at the OAU summit to avoid a withdrawal by Morocco, but obtained in exchange a resolution enjoining-- rather than simply "urging"--Rabat to undertake direct negotiations with the Polisario? "Nothing can force us to accept," the Moroccans reply, while admitting that their situation would be more uncomfortable on the diplomatic level.

The Moroccans, well established in the north of Western Sahara and having improved their room for maneuver with the Arab-African union, can let the conflict linger on, though it will continue to burden their economic recovery. They can also choose to negotiate a compromise that would restore peace and facilitate a marriage of the signatory countries of the treaty of fraternity and concord (Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania) to the Oujda treaty states. For the immediate future, the prospect seems blocked. However, no one can predict with certainty the outcome of the close game being played since summer in the north of Africa, a game that is of great interest to southern Europe.

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ADVISER TO KING DISCUSSES UNION WITH LIBYA, PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1456, 28 Sep 84 pp 36-37

[Interview with Ahmed Bensouda, advisor to King Hasan II on Arab affairs by 'Afaf Zayn: "Bensouda: Palestinian Agreement Condition for Holding Arab Summit"; Rabat, date unspecified]

[Text] Ahmed Bensouda is not only an advisor to King Hasan II on Arab affairs. He is also the secretary and participant in the making of many important decisions and events, the latest of which is the signing of the agreement on unity between Morocco and Libya. Bensouda, the venerable, cultured, knowledgeable diplomat, is distinguished for his ability and skill in explaining political positions, whether or not they are in agreement with Morocco's line. From this standpoint he is realistic and does not become upset by an event, no matter what its dimensions or objective. Thus he said that the African Arab Union is not a magic wand for changing the state of affairs quickly. Eastern Arab affairs, in the opinion of King Hasan's advisor, require a great deal of solidarity to achieve the success they deserve. In this interview with Ahmed Bensouda, a tour of the East and West began with relations between Rabat and Washington after the signing of the Oujda agreement.

[Question] It is known that Ahmed Reda Guedira, advisor to King Hasan II, made a surprise visit to America. Was he called by Washington? What were the results of this visit? Have Moroccan-U.S. relations been affected by the signing of the agreement on unity with Libya?

[Answer] Establishment of the African Arab Union between Morocco and Libya is not a simple event. This event surprised the friends and allies of both countries. Each country has its friendships and connections. The mere announcement of the Oujda meeting caused many question marks about what Moroccan foreign policy will be in the future. Will Libyan foreign policy take a new course? This is natural.

Thus it was necessary for the king to send a number of delegations to friendly countries to inform them of the reasons for this surprise and describe the advantages and dimensions of this union.

The United States of America is one of Morocco's oldest friends. Relations of long-standing link us. They have been strengthened by the special relationship between the king and President Reagan. They exchange notes and consult each other on matters of interest to both countries.

Therefore the establishment of the African Arab Union produced a movement activating envoys of both countries. Moroccan-U.S. relations are good. America knows full well that the king calculates every step before making a move.

[Question] The Oujda meeting was not a surprise in light of what you said. What gains did it achieve for Morocco which were in harmony with its interests and not in conflict with the considerations of its friends?

[Answer] The king has a great ability to look at matters and make precise calculations. The king was convinced of the numerous benefits for Morocco, Libya and the entire Arab nation.

[Question] While the Moroccan envoy was in Washington, Col al-Qadhdhafi waged a big campaign against the United States. He repeated positions on the American administration which he had enunciated previously in a recent speech on the occasion of the anniversary of 1 September. Did Col al-Qadhdhafi's attitude toward the American administration cause embarrassment to the Moroccan envoy? Did Reda Guedira hear a specific reaction on the part of President Reagan to Libya's positions which remained unchanged by the establishment of the African Arab Union?

[Answer] First, the speech of Col al-Qadhdhafi was delivered on 1 September, and the referendum on the African Arab Union was held in the two countries 1 day after the celebration of the Libyan revolution. We do not claim that the African Arab Union is a magic wand capable of changing positions and replacing policies overnight. This union is merely the beginning of an arrangement to create a single position for all Arab nations. Simply by creating institutions, this union will set matters on a clearly-defined course designed to achieve an Arab consensus which will coordinate efforts of both African and Arab nations to work out joint positions.

The stands taken by Col al-Qadhdhafi will be based on specific positions taken by the other party. This will come about through contacts and consultations between Morocco and Libya in the institutions of this union. We can create a new policy if need be.

There is another important question which should be mentioned. If we say to al-Qadhdhafi, "Why did you attack this or that nation and why did you take harsh stands on one country or another," perhaps he will say to us, "Has that country changed its position, so that I for my part might change mine?"

The challenges are great, and the situation is extremely delicate. No one can claim that the mere signing of a treaty will change the situation. The union was formed as a result of a profound perception of the fragmentation which is growing day by day in the Arab world. Hence we reconfirm that this union is not for the purpose of creating axes, but for the purpose of shaping efforts to crystalize a single Arab position and repair the crack.

[Question] Your understanding of Col al-Qadhdhafi's reply during your discussion about his harsh policies suggests the possible existence of a certain feeling in Morocco that the policy of America in the Middle East region has caused injustice, harm and misunderstanding of Arab causes which are in the right. Has Morocco, benefitting from its good relations with America, attempted to inform American officials of the dangerous consequences of their policies in the Middle East?

[Answer] We have many just causes in the Arab world. In the forefront is the Palestinian problem which is the essence of the struggle in the area.

Morocco, in cooperation with a number of Arab nations, succeeded in drafting a special work program at the Fes summit. All Arab nations approved it and considered it to be in harmony with their points of view. Also, the European Common Market has supported the Fes program on several occasions. The Fes program has obtained the blessing of nations throughout the world. We who are concerned with the problem must do everything we can to persuade others, and not villify, blame and censure them.

For the first time the Arab cause has a unified program which is manifest in the Fes plan. What have we, who lack neither intelligence, money nor means, done with this program?

[Question] Are there indications that the Arab summit will be held soon? Will the establishment of the African Arab Union move up the date of this summit and contribute toward creating a single Arab stand, at least on the level of the Arab Maghreb?

[Answer] I hope with all my heart that a new Arab summit conference is held only if it serves Arab causes. The king feels that if this summit is held to consecrate conflicts within the Arab nation, it should be postponed. Consequently, the king is against holding it in this atmosphere. Thus we must work quickly to find a consensus and deal with our conflicts. Our foremost responsibility is to end conflicts among our Palestinian brothers. We in Morocco sincerely hope that the Palestinian National Council meets. Agreement and consensus among Palestinians are fundamental conditions for holding the Arab summit conference, because the Palestinian cause is the heart of the Arab cause and is the focal point of its concerns. Agreement among Palestinians and clearing the Arab air are two essential conditions for holding the summit conference.

[Question] What about Moroccan-Palestinian relations?

[Answer] Moroccan-Palestinian relations are excellent. Good friendships bind the king and Palestinian leaders together.

[Question] In connection with the recent visit of the French president to Morocco, what were the most important problems reviewed and discussed? Was this surprise visit connected with the establishment of the African Arab Union?

[Answer] The French president's visit to Morocco was scheduled prior to the creation of the African Arab Union. The French president was present by chance just as Morocco was beginning to conduct the referendum on union with Libya. Since the French president did not want to be in Morocco on the day of the referendum, he went to Portugal and returned 2 days later to resume his visit to the king. Many different problems were discussed. Morocco values good relations with France.

[Question] Article 12 of the African Arab Union stipulates that the Moroccan army come to the aid of the Libyan army in case of attack by a third party. Will Morocco carry out this clause in case of military confrontation in Chad between Libya and France?

[Answer] There will be no military confrontation between France and Libya in Chad. This question is extremely pessimistic.

[Question] Libyan forces face French forces only 150 kilometers away in northern Chad. The likelihood of contact exists and is growing. The Libyan president reiterated his previous positions in a recent speech. He said he would continue to be a supporter of the forces of Goukouni Oueddei.

[Answer] I hope nothing will happen which will force us to use this army, not in Chad or anywhere else. I am positive there will be no confrontation.

[Question] What makes you so optimistic? What assurances do you have?

[Answer] Wars and military confrontation have proven incapable of settling a dispute through violent means, fighting and killing. Certainly both the Libyan and French presidents appreciate the danger of such a confrontation. I think that the Iran-Iraq war is a good lesson for the two sides. It confirms what we are saying.

[Question] On the subject of the Iran-Iraq war, it is interesting that despite good relations between Morocco and Iraq, Morocco has not taken any initiative to end this war.

[Answer] The king heads the Islamic Committee which was created by the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It is active in finding a solution to the Iran-Iraq war. Morocco is acting according to a collective plan. Morocco cannot embark on an individual effort which parallels the collective effort in which it is participating. This responsibility is Islamic and Arab above all. The entire Islamic nation is responsible for the continuation of both the Iran-Iraq war and the Palestinian problem without a just solution.

[Question] How does Morocco feel about the Israeli election results? Do you think the formation of a dual government of Likud and Labor will contribute toward sparing blood in future peace plans in the region?

[Answer] Personally I am not one who discusses the positions of others if I have not yet defined my own. The position of Israel on the Arab problem will not change unless the Arab nations change their positions among themselves and decide to confront Israel and not each other.

Israel sees with malice that the question of convening the Palestinian National Council has not been settled for 1 month. Israel observes with satisfaction the deterioration of relations among the Arab nations. What do we want from Israel when we have not found a suitable way to talk among ourselves? Are we serious about expelling Israel from occupied South Lebanon? The Lebanese government meets, and two principal ministers stay away from the meeting. Which has priority and is more important--personal strife among Arabs or their historic war with Israel?

Since 1930 the Arab countries have been changing their policies continuously. They have not agreed unanimously on one position. We Arabs must speak one language before asking others to listen to us and discuss our points of view, whether on Lebanon or Palestine. Let the Palestinian Council convene and the Palestinians come to agreement among themselves for us to see.

[Question] If Algeria made excuses about hosting the Palestinian National Congress, would Morocco invite the PLO to hold this congress on its territory?

[Answer] So far there is no indication that Algeria is going to decline to host this congress. I do not believe that Algeria will refuse to host this congress, because it is important. Shortly before the Palestinian National Council convened in Algeria last year, some Arab nations expressed their desire to host the activities of this council. If the PLO had wished to consider any alternative site for its congress, all Arab nations would study the request of the PLO and comply with the interests of the Palestinian cause. Morocco is no different than the other Arab nations. It is even in the forefront of those committed to the Palestinian cause. The establishment of the African Arab Union

between two African countries which want to cling to their Arab identity is simply the best evidence of the feelings which Morocco harbors for the problems of the Arab East. The African Arab Union is an invitation to Arab and African nations to joint it.

[Question] They say that this double name of the Moroccan-Libyan union was the subject of a long discussion between you and the Sudanese president while you both were participating in the Romanian national day celebration. They say that the Sudanese president gave you a specific message for Libya, informing it that Sudan will do everything possible to block the future inclusion of Chad in this union.

[Answer] I met with President Numayri while we were in Romania. Indeed I heard a message to this effect. I explained to the Sudanese president that the purpose of this union was not to create a policy of axes.

[Question] If Col al-Qadhdhafi proposes that the northern part of Chad be included in the African Arab Union, what will be the position of Morocco, knowing in advance of the opposition of Sudan? Has France rejected this idea?

[Answer] So far Col al-Qadhdhafi has made no such proposal. Matters are subject to many variables which the future will present.

[Question] Libyan forces are in the entire northern part of Chad. They say that the likelihood of this part of Chad being included in the African Arab Union has already been raised.

[Answer] Why raise questions about probabilities which make matters difficult and complicated?

[Question] We ask about what we have heard which is in keeping with the Libyan position. It is revealed in statements by the Libyan president, especially in his recent speech when he attacked France for its presence in Chad. He said that he has supported and is supporting the forces of Goukouni Oueddei.

[Answer] I say to you, the press and the news media, that this union has provided an opportunity, small though it may be. The union is a newborn child and is still crawling. Wait a while for it to stand on its own two feet.

Do you want to extract a statement from me which will make both the king and the Libyan president angry? I assure everyone, all Arab nations and the entire world, that this union is not against anyone. Its institutions have not yet been created. Let the Arab press help us. Let it stop saying that Morocco has made a deal with Libya, and its lucrative bill will be the Sahara problem.

[Question] Until the unity agreements with Morocco were signed, Libya had been the main financier of the POLISARIO. Its aid covered approximately 80 percent of the expenditures of these forces. The African Arab Union made Libya quit and nullified its leading and influential role in the Sahara problem. In your opinion isn't this a profitable move for Morocco?

[Answer] This did happen in fact. I assure you that it was sheer coincidence. Morocco did not make this calculation.

[Question] At the outset you said that the king studies every step carefully before making a move.

[Answer] When Morocco decided to establish this union with Libya, its position in the Sahara was cause for exuberance. We had finished building our security berms which forever prevented attacks by mercenary raider forces against cities of the Sahara.

7811

CSO: 4504/17

BRIEFS

PRIMARY LIQUIDITY INCREASE--The increase in the volume of local monetary liquidity in the state of Bahrain during the first six months of this year over the same period last year was 100.59 million Bahraini dinars. This was confirmed by the latest quarterly publication issued by the Bahrain Finance Institute. The publication explained that during the first six months of this year, the volume of local liquidity cast in dinars in Bahrain reached 922.06 million Bahraini dinars, compared to 821.47 million Bahraini dinars during the same period last year, in 1983. The publication's analysis of this increase says that it occurred as a direct result of the increase in the form of money, from 552.87 to 655.04 million Bahraini dinars, that occurred between the same two periods, and in the money circulating outside of banks, from 73.90 million to 85.86 million Bahraini dinars, at a time when deposits under demand were declining from 194.71 to 181.16 million Bahraini dinars in the first half of the current year, compared to the first half of last year. On the other hand, the change in net local stocks rose between the two periods from 24.038 million Bahraini dinars to 79.026 million Bahraini dinars, but the averages of net foreign stocks declined from a positive 12.059 to a negative 58.020 million Bahraini dinars during the first six months of this year. [Text] [Bahrain Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 27 Sep 84 pp 1, 4] 12547

CSO: 4404/38

TRADE MINISTER DESCRIBES IMPROVEMENTS IN FOREIGN TRADE, SUPPLY

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 2 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by As'ad al-'Aqli: "AL-JUMHURIYAH Talks with the Minister of Trade: A Shining Picture of Developments in the Trade Sector"]

[Text] Commercial activity, if one controls it, represents the basic link which will make it possible competently to guarantee the effective performance of all economic, cultural and social tasks and activities, since it constitutes the starting point for all of these activities.

If we view trade as an economic and social function, we will find that it has gone through numerous stages which have represented the degree to which it is able to perform this function by providing material resources and acquiring marketing expertise, turning it to serve the goals affected. In order to learn about the developments the socialist commercial sector has experienced and the degree to which it has performed the basic tasks assigned to it, we met with Mr Hasan 'Ali, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and minister of trade, and held the following conversation with him:

The Main Tasks

AL-JUMHURIYAH: At the beginning of this conversation, we would like to learn about the main tasks which are assigned to the socialist trade sector.

The minister: One can evaluate the tasks of the socialist trade sector in terms of three main approaches. These are:

First, the tasks bearing on the development of foreign economic relations. Among the most important of these are:

Strengthening relations with Arab countries and developing and implantating modes of commercial, economic and technical cooperation jointly.

Establishing broad relations between Iraq and the countries of the world, in a manner which is in keeping with the country's interests and our national and domestic needs and is in harmony with our principles.

Developing modes of commercial, economic and technical cooperation with adjacent countries and various countries of the developing world in all areas with the goal of supporting the struggle to establish a new international economic order founded on the principles of justice, equality and parity.

Participating effectively and broadly in international and regional organizations and conferences in a manner which will guarantee the attainment and crystallization of our economic and political goals in determining the positions of principle which the political state of affairs reflects.

Constantly expanding the country's economic and technical relations dealing with the issues of the transfer of technology and the provision of opportunities for the training of advanced technical staffs and personnel.

Second, the tasks related to foreign trade, foremost of which are:

Developing the country's export capabilities, in particular non-oil and non-traditional exports, by studying the foreign markets and tastes of consumers, promoting our products abroad and constantly obtaining new markets for our domestic products.

Seeking to provide the country's requirements for imported investment, intermediary and consumer goods from the best sources under the best conditions at the lowest prices and to provide them in the right amounts and at the right time in order to carry out the investment programs and production plans and respond to the basic needs of local consumption.

Third, the tasks related to domestic trade, among the most conspicuous of which are:

Developing and organizing domestic trade and planning for it in a manner which will lead to the attainment of better integration and coordination among domestic trade activities on the one hand and the national development plan.

Coordinating domestic commercial activity and the local production sectors, so that it will be possible to determine the deficit or surplus of local production relative to demand in order to dispose of it through imports or exports.

Furnishing a commodity structure which is in keeping with patterns of demand, while giving priorities to basic commodities and products which affect the lives of the overwhelming majority of the citizens within the context of a plan and schedule for import and productive activities.

Developing the process of the smooth flow of goods, raising the level of storage, transportation and distribution while adopting the system of considering the need to reduce the gap between the volume of demand and the volume of supply.

Guiding and orienting consumption in a manner that is in harmony with the goals of national development and creates the spirit of good citizenship and

eliminating the phenomena of negative conduct embodied in consumer waste and profligacy.

Outlining price policies for groups of goods and services in coordination with the agencies and other sectors concerned in a manner which will bring about balance between the goods and services available and the demand for them at the lowest possible price in keeping with the citizens' incomes, in particular those of people with limited incomes, in harmony with the directives of the leadership of the party and the revolution in the area of raising the citizens' standard of living.

Developing commercial oversight agencies and coordinating them with the goal of preserving the stability of the local markets, approving more effective economic measures and procedures and turning to expand the role of oversight by the people.

Adopting necessary measures and preparing studies which have the goal of protecting domestic production and improving its quality so that it will be on a par with competing foreign goods.

The importance of the socialist commercial sector in the circumstances of the aggressive war which the racist Iranian regime has imposed on our country now stands out, since the commercial agencies have managed rapidly to move to respond to the requirements of national defense and the war effort, preserve the stability of commodity supplies and deeply implant the foundations of the support structure of domestic trade, as represented in the construction of the modern warehouses needed to form strategic storage of food-stuffs and other basic commodities, especially grain. The directives by the fighting president and commander, Saddam Husayn, have played their major role in moving the sector toward developing the performance of the tasks of the trade sector in such circumstances.

Factors in the Development of Domestic Trade

AL-JUMHURIYAH: The development of domestic trade is clearly evident in a number of positive factors whose results have assumed concrete form in the years of the revolution. How would you define the most prominent of these factors, and what about their future dimensions?

The minister: On viewing domestic trade from a comprehensive angle, in accordance with the indices of the progress that has been attained in marketing systems and work systems and methods on the one hand, and its relationship to the sectors of the economy secondly and to the masses of the citizens thirdly, we find that there has been a development in the intrinsic resources of the socialist commercial sector in realizing the following:

First, developing storage capacities, by building new storehouses, developing public storehouses, modernizing those which are privately owned in a radical manner to increase their absorptive capacity and improve control methods, outfitting the storehouses with cranes, shelves and (diksunat), and introducing modern handling methods in order to keep abreast of technical development in this area.

The ministry has concentrated on seeing that a portion of these warehouses are allocated to the disposition and distribution of commodities to agents so that their design will be compatible with the consolidation of the management of sales and storehouses for a group of related commodities in a single place, to facilitate the operations of disposing of and distributing the goods to agents, since 10 warehouses have been built in various governorates, including four in Baghdad.

Whereas the Ministry of Commerce had no refrigerated storage space before 1976, except for small date storehouses, it took the initiative of building small chambers in the form of refrigerated rooms in ordinary warehouses distributed among the governorates. It also proceeded to keep abreast of increasing need by establishing large refrigerated storehouses containing the most modern advanced storage and handling equipment, including that involving application of the first in, first out principle automatically, without intervention by warehouse custodians.

The ministry exerted efforts to organize the support cycle for the receipt of goods, quality inspection and determination of waste and loss; meanwhile work is underway to program storage and marketing activities on computer to achieve control over storage levels and the commodity cycle.

Second, there is the orientation to construct an advanced internal transport fleet while resorting to providing trucks to retailer agents dealing with commercial installations, in accordance with specific rules, taking into account the agent's annual drawdown.

In accordance with this policy, the initiative has been taken to build up a transport fleet in accordance with the requirements of the growing need for transportation capacity, since the number of trucks has increased 2.4 times over between 1976 and 1983, while the total load capacities of these trucks have increased 2.6 times over.

With the development in the need for manpower and the movement of goods and the increase in the volume of transactions, there has been an orientation to use vehicles with record load capacities in excess of 20 tons to reduce the number of small trucks and the total number of operating trucks and economize in maintenance, fuel, garage and other expenses.

A tendency has also been followed to use open trucks to develop transportation by container, in view of its economic nature, and reduce the loss and damage of goods to the minimum. Specialized transportation has been used in accordance with the specifications of various commodities, for instance tank trucks for cement pellets instead of bags, greatly reducing the cost of transportation.

Third, while the Ministry of Trade installations had only 18 workshops with various forms of equipment and staff, it has turned intensively toward foreign suppliers to build workshops to repair imported equipment at their own expense, as well as building warehouses for reserve equipment and equipping them with mechanical equipment and advanced warehouse control, since 80 modern workshops have been constructed, distributed among all the governorates

of the country, in accordance with this initiative, while all the old warehouses have been eliminated.

Fourth, as regards the reformulation of work methods and systems, proceeding from the premise of considering the process of providing supplies of goods according to the desired types at the right times and specific places to be one of the important economic activities for coping with the demand for consumer and productive goods, which is the main area of domestic trade, we find that sales activity has gone through many developments as a result of which its importance in bringing about a good smooth flow of goods in the Iraqi market, in particular basic foodstuffs, has been confirmed. The quality of the goods available in the country's markets has developed, new, distinctive commodities have been introduced for the first time and the volume of sales has realized a rate of growth of 256 percent in 1976-81.

The Agents -- a Major Outlet

In the area of the development of distribution outlets, the ministry has relied on retail agents as a major outlet, since the number of trade agencies has constantly increased, from 60,000 in 1976 to close to 116,000 at the present time.

In order to shed light on the nature of the marketing facilities offered the agents, we can establish the following:

The effort to get certain foodstuffs to agents' stores, such as flour and vegetable oil, as examples, not exclusively.

Expansion in the allocation of special disposition centers for supplying agents in every installation, in order to deal with the problem of the dispersion and spread of storehouses within a single installation.

An increase in the agents' shares of basic necessary goods and the attainment of equity of distribution in a manner in keeping with the agent's distribution and storage resources and the population concentration in the area where he is present, in accordance with a distribution plan previously set forth for that.

The provision of quantities of materials and commodities for retail agents in the villages, rural areas and remote regions sufficient for a period of 2 months for the purpose of meeting citizens' requirements.

The granting of agencies in remote, distant areas and exemption of the applications submitted from the conditions of belonging to chambers of commerce.

The reduction of transportation burdens on agents by granting them an appropriate discount in accordance with the distance between the center of supply and the region, periodically modifying that with increases in accordance with the circumstances of internal transportation.

Expansion by following the method of decentralization in supplying agents from installation branches throughout the governorates.

The combination of agents' sales departments and storage personnel in consolidated departments which are assigned administrative control over them.

The pursuit of speedy work methods by breaking cities down into sectors, with the agents of each sector distributed to a storehouse engaged in selling and supplying at the same time.

The attainment of more accurate followup regarding the storage of each commodity which is provided to agents to supply, so that the agents' quotas will be met in accordance with the warehouse's established backlog.

The Central Markets: A Civilized Format

With the objective of eliminating overlap and duplication in the activity of the socialist and private sectors, so that the need to distinguish between major and secondary branches for purposes of consumption and development and the scientific and practical desire for the expansion and dominance of the socialist trade sector will be clear to the competent agencies of the Ministry of Commerce, in accordance with the policies and principles stipulated by the leadership of the party and the revolution, 256 small shops which were lacking in technical specifications and economic feasibility have been eliminated. Whereas the socialist trade sector's shops had come to 329 in 1977, they then numbered 73 as of the first half of 1983.

The elimination process was carried out in accordance with a phased plan which was accompanied, concurrently, by concentration on the grant of agencies to citizens and also the establishment of central markets on large areas and developed display methods which would make it possible for them to purchase their requirements in a civilized manner.

The General Central Markets Agency was created at the beginning of 1982 as an agency specializing in retail sales. This agency now has 10 central markets, three in the Governorate of Baghdad (Tuesday, al-Rashid and al-Mansur) and two that are smaller than them in area which have recently been developed, in addition to five modern central markets in the Governorates of al-Najaf, al-Ta'mim and Dahuk and the District of Khaniqin, as well as four free market shops engaged in sales for foreign currency. Two large markets will be opened in the sections of the Worker's District and the People's District in the Governorate of Baghdad. One should bear in mind that the circumstances of the aggressive war which the racist Iranian regime is waging have helped postpone execution of the stipulated plan, which is aimed at establishing a single central market in each of the governorates of the country, in addition to postponing the opening of three large markets out of the total of five which were received from the capital secretariat in 1984. These will be opened in 1985.

The Development of Foreign Trade

AL-JUMHURIYAH: Foreign trade, especially regarding imports, has witnessed noticeable quantum leaps in the past years of the life of the glorious revolution. What are the indices that describe this situation? What about the

measures that have been relied on in the context of the commercial sector to cope with this sort of development?

The minister: The growth rates realized in the imports of various consumer, intermediary and capital goods have kept abreast of this great increase in allocations to investment programs, the citizens' high income levels and the expansion in the Iraqi market. As proof of the nature and magnitude of the progress which has been achieved, we can point out that annual allocations in the import program have risen more than six times over between 1976 and 1981, while the various aspects of development have found their expression in the rates of execution, both in terms of the relationship between allocations and open withdrawals to annual allocations and in the comparison between the value of the goods arriving and allocations and open withdrawals. Regarding the rate of execution of the import program, the two fixed indices came to 88 and 71 percent, respectively, for 1976, then rose in 1981 to 99 and 88 percent, respectively.

In the face of this great development in the content and magnitude of the tasks imposed on the Ministry of Trade, we have taken the initiative of relying on scientific methods which will guarantee that performance in the import field is improved, especially by carrying out extensive changes in the bases and measures for foreign transactions through direct invitations to suppliers and bids, signing long-term contracts and giving broad powers to the heads of organizations and general directors in concluding commercial contracts in a manner which is in keeping with the magnitude of their commercial dealings: this flexibility in dealings has brought about orderliness in the arrival of goods on schedule while saving in expenses and the time spend in the import cycle.

In addition there has been an improvement in methods of evaluating demand and requirements for various goods and preparing commodity balances for large numbers of these, including grain, sugar, tea, milk, tomato paste, paper, iron, wood, cigarettes, tires, batteries and so forth, which has created better order in supply and demand, and also a diversification of sources of supply and origins, since our imports come from most producing countries. That has created a better negotiating situation and led to the acquisition of commodities at appropriate prices.

In this area, consulting bodies have been formed comprising various areas of specialization and jurisdictions related to imported goods, including a number of merchants dealing with agencies. These choose quality and determine the desired specifications for a number of goods which are characterized by a broad range of quality and composition, such as children's games, photographic materials and equipment, paper and so forth. In addition, there is close coordination between productive and import activities through higher coordinating committees in the Ministry of Trade and the ministries concerned, as well as specific specialized committees throughout the marketing and production agencies, in order to guarantee that imports will be at the service of and complementary to domestic production and ascertain that the index of the goods actually arriving in the warehouses is monitored, as proof of the execution of the import plan, followup of the execution of the allocations opened, and the opening of offices at locations where the goods arrive.

The Role of Private Activity

AL-JUMHURIYAH: What, however, about the role of private activity in foreign trade?

The minister: Private activity plays a specific role in the import process, since its import allocations rose twentyfold between 1979 and 1981, coming to 140 million dinars. This sort of orientation came about in application of the statement by the president and commander: "What we need is the private sector's mind and fingernails" -- that is, we need its efforts, which must produce a profit, although its profit must be in balance with the socialist orientation, so that that will not lead to exploitation, since we do not conceive that it is possible to build socialism through the activity of the government agencies and its socialist agencies alone but that the activity of the private sector is necessary. Therefore, we consider that private activity is the lifelong companion of socialist activity, but that it is in the service of socialist goals, while differing with the socialist sector in terms of objectives.

Private activity has helped answer the needs of some classes of consumers by introducing distinguished goods into the local market which are in keeping with the tastes of these classes, but this process has been accompanied by excesses on the part of certain importers involved in private activity who raised the prices of the goods they import, especially in the case of ready-made clothes and some foodstuffs of secondary importance, since imports from this activity are not subject to official pricing. One should bear in mind that the number of importers currently registered comes to 5,500, including 4,000 who import consumer goods and 1,500 who import productive goods.

11887

CSO: 4404/24

MINISTRY OFFICIAL SAYS BASIC GOODS WIDELY AVAILABLE

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 16 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Yahya al-Shammal: "The Iraqi Market in Wartime. Variety And Abundance Of Offered Goods"]

[Excerpts] A Dim Picture And A Bright One

Let us turn aside from this picture, drawn by the circumstances of economic life of the country during World War II, in order to consider the bright one which the present economic reality of the country reflects, in spite of the fact that for 4 years the country has been fighting a fierce war and facing many attempts by the enemies of our people to pressure and blockade it. If we consider that the population of Iraq has reached 13 million and that of Baghdad alone approximately 4 million inhabitants, what will we find in this picture?

Illuminating Indicators

The Deputy Minister of Trade compares the situation of Iraqi markets in the war years with those that preceded them, saying:

Whereas in 1976 total sales for the concerns attached to the Ministry of Trade were 703 million Iraqi dinars, in 1982 they came to ID 2.749 billion. The circumstances of the war of aggression that has been forced upon our country notwithstanding, this is an indicator which reflects the reality of development in the size of activity which the concerns of the socialist commercial sector are carrying out with a high degree of competence so as to make various consumer and productive goods available.

Mr al-Hashimi then talks about the 1984 plan for foreign trade and its allocation specifications:

The plan has given special consideration to goods that have a direct bearing on the life of the citizenry, as well as to goods connected with upkeep, maintenance, development, renewal and the implementation of the construction and investment projects which have been included in the 1984 investment plan, and which have been contracted for. The monetary allocations for consumer goods in the plan comprises 31 percent. Of this percentage, 89 percent was

allocated for importing the necessary foodstuffs for the citizenry. This reflects the concern of the leadership of the party and the revolution to make the basic requirements of our citizens available. The plan has also taken into consideration the coordinating function between the importing and production bodies to ensure the evolution of national production and to stimulate the country's capacities and capabilities, and to develop them, dedicating everything for victory.

Developing Distribution Outlets

The deputy minister of trade then addresses his ministry's efforts to develop distribution outlets in a manner that will insure the accessibility of various goods and commodities to citizens in the farthest areas of the country, saying:

In the duration of our just war, we have labored to develop and expand distribution outlets in a manner reflecting the ability of the socialist commercial sector to make available the materials, goods and services required by the development plans, as well as to make consumer goods available in a manner that would enable the citizen to acquire all types of basic and semi-essential goods easily. Thus the number of agents has risen to 116,914, in addition to that the accreditation of consumer cooperative societies and central markets where work is in progress to develop the role of consumer societies in distributing the goods required by the citizenry. We also lend support to army stores in order to make goods required by combatants available. To facilitate their work, army stores have been empowered to contract for the goods they purchase directly with the factories.

As far as central markets are concerned, we have put into operations a marketing complex for retail sales. This is a modern experiment which aims at projecting the country's civilized aspect, and comes as a replacement for small showrooms which abounded and which have been liquidated in implementation of the president-leader's directives.

Central Markets

The experiment in forming central markets and its expansion aims at enabling the citizenry to buy all their family requirements in one marketplace. Three large central markets have been opened in Baghdad to ensure a supply of various commodities required by the citizenry. This is in addition to other central markets in Saddam City, al-'Amil City and al-Sha'b quarter. A number of central markets have also been opened in the governorates and the important cities of the country. They have been supplied with all the goods and commodities that are available in the Baghdad central markets, so as not to force the citizen to travel to Baghdad to obtain a certain article which might be lacking in the governorate he inhabits. What goods and commodities offered in the Baghdad central markets are also offered in the central markets of the governorates. We have made branch managers directly responsible for making goods available to citizens, inasmuch as they are directly responsible for stock-taking and for supply and demand mobility.

The ministry also depends on its own immediate agents to make other goods and commodities available in a streamlined manner to the citizenry.

The deputy minister of trade also points to the fact that his ministry's plans also included the first-time importation into the country of new combinations of various consumer and productive goods, in addition to encouraging the replacement of imported goods by national products, and the non-importation of those goods that have local-production substitutes available.

Finally Mr Talib 'Abd-al-Muttalib al-Hashimi, deputy minister of trade, says: Exactly at this stage, the ministry is duty-bound to develop operations and to manage the main activities of the socialist commercial sector, be they planning, marketing, distribution or stocking, in a context that serves the planned timetable of scientific economic activity and guarantees raising its quality and capability within the basic tenets and obligations drawn up by the ninth National Congress of the Ba'th Socialist Party. This is in addition to expanding the activities of the socialist commercial sector and increasing its ability to organize distribution operations and to secure equilibrium between supply and demand.

What we have heard from the deputy minister of trade did not involve conceptual developments in the activities of the socialist commercial sector, but reflected operative facts which any citizen is able to experience in a short visit to our local markets, where he will observe a situation of abundance and satiety. The brilliant flowering which these markets are experiencing enables the citizen to obtain all types of basic, essential and semi-essential, or even luxury goods, with absolute ease. If we were to compare this picture with those we have considered, as depicted in news items and facts appearing in the local press on the Iraqi economic situation and the local markets during World War II, a war which Iraq did not enter or participate in directly, it being a war between third parties, we would then discover the extent of flowering, well being and affluence in whose shade Iraq subsists in spite of the circumstances of the war which has gone into its 5th year. All this that points to the strength, firmness and stability of our national economic base.

12775

CSO: 4404 28

FORCES CALLED TO RALLY AGAINST REGIME

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 19, 27 Aug 84 p 7

[Article: "The Socialist Party: The Iraqi-Iranian War Is An Imperialist Plot Carried Out By the Iraqi System"]

[Text] "SOCIALIST" the main newspaper of the Socialist Party in Iraq devoted an editorial in its last issue to the discussion of the effects of the Iraqi-Iranian war and the necessity of bringing down the system, some excerpts follow:

The Iraqi-Iranian war, ignited by the dictatorial Saddam system, has developed of late into a human slaughter snatching away soldiers and civilians by the tens of thousands from both the Iranian and the Iraqi people. This war has also in its current form led to increased violence, terrorism, and torture for various of the national power groups inside Iraq.

Imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reactionaries, when they suggested to Saddam that this war be waged, wanted to demolish the two armies of the two countries as well as their economies which was a service to Zionism and imperialism in the region, and they wanted to put an end to the idea of any Arab-Iranian cooperation in the liberation of Arab territories including Jerusalem.

This war has left deep psychological and social scars on these peoples, and the effects will be felt for years to come. The war has resulted in the ruling power having dared to execute tens of army officers because of their lack of support for the war or because of their lack of fidelity for the system. Also hundreds of soldiers have been executed who were fleeing the hellfire of war. That is, Iraq has become a terrible slaughterhouse in which its innocent youth are destroying everyday. The economic resources of the country are being depleted, dealing the country a grievous harm as a result of the destruction of economic infrastructure, the stopping of the pumping of oil, and the destruction of agricultural and industrial production.

When the regime feigned concern for control of the nation, it abused this control by concluding the Algeria agreement with the shah who died

in March of 1975. It is what presented portions of Iraqi border territory to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan in return for the solidarity of these powers at its side in the war with Iran. It also allowed Turkish forces to enter Iraqi territory to chase nationalist forces on Iraqi soil. This is an action which contradicts Iraqi control of its land as it is not permissible, and it never happened before, for a foreign power to chase citizens in their own country.

The system has also followed in its internal policies a sectarianism officially which has resulted in racism between the sons of the Iraqi people, and thousands of Iraqis have been expelled from their country due their fidelity to the Islamic Republic in Iran. The nation has also lost thousands of educated cadres and those specialized in various sciences due to terrorism, persecution, loss of freedoms, and arbitrary detentions. They have spread out in various parts of the world looking for a living and for freedom. At this time the prisons are also filled with thousands of political prisoners who have neither investigations nor trials from different authorities.

The development of the course of the party these days is towards total destruction in all areas, tremendous slaughter of innocents, and there have been many from all over. All of this requires that all of the different Iraqi nationalist powers earnestly strive to establish a comprehensive front assigned the task of stopping the awful war, stopping the resultant flow of blood, and the task of moving to overthrow the fascist system which has destroyed the people of our country. It should also establish a democratic coalition government which will realize democracy for Iraq as well as self-determination for Kurdistan, the rights of other common minorities, and the settlement of issues pending between the two countries in a sound fashion on a basis of independence, sovereignty, and good neighborliness for both parties without attempts by either side to keep the other's territory. We hope that the current efforts among the nationalists will achieve success in the setting up of a comprehensive front. The free and independent sons of Iraq can participate in the battles of the Arab nation and especially in the liberation of occupied Arab territories, as well as to become an example for world liberation movements struggling for their independence and their freedom so that they can undertake effective and active roles in fighting against international imperialism, zionism, and reactionaries.

12390

CSO: 4404/665

AL-TA'MIM GOVERNORATE ACCOMPLISHMENTS LISTED AT LENGTH

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 28 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by Ibrahim Khalil: "Al-Ta'mim on the Occasion of the Triumphant July Holidays: The Giant Projects in the Governorate Cost 1.2 Billion Dinars"]

[Text] The distinctive status, among the cities of Iraq, enjoyed by Al-Ta'mim Governorate, which is experiencing victories as it celebrates the triumphant July holidays, underlines a comprehensive upsurge and tangible progress which previous years had not witnessed.

Al-Ta'mim, which has won the title of the most beautiful city of Iraq and the city of takeoff, is performing its tasks in the areas of fighting and construction, since the development service projects of the revolution are rising proudly on high. These have come into existence only in the context of the July [revolution], and were carried out only in the era of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, alongside giant projects which have been carried out only by directives of the president and commander.

Giant Projects Costing 1.2 Billion Dinars

In order to shed more light on the new picture in the governorate, Mr Zuhayr al-Qadiri, the governor of al-Ta'mim, talked to AL-JUMHURIYAH, stressing, at the beginning of his conversation, that the volume of industrial, economic and service projects which have been carried out in the past period, as work is now continuing with redoubled efforts to complete the remainder of these projects, gives an indication of this great interest on the part of the leadership of the party and the revolution and the president and commander, Saddam Husayn! The great achievements which have been realized have put the governorate on the threshold of an advanced transition in civilization which is being added to the beautiful, splendid picture of our beloved Iraq.

He stated that the costs of these projects came to 1.2 billion dinars, and that this big figure underlines the magnitude of the tremendous development achievements in the governorate.

Saddam Irrigation and Self-Sufficiency in Food

Mr al-Qadiri added that the most important of these projects was the completion this year of the first stage of the great irrigation project, the Saddam irrigation project. In addition, 40 modern farming villages have been constructed; these are part of the first stage of the project.

The Saddam irrigation project is considered one of the most massive irrigation projects in the country, since it irrigates an area of more than 952,000 donums, 819,600 donums of which are watered by flowing water and 132,640 by sprinkling.

This project was carried out under directives from the president and commander, Saddam Husayn. It will make a basic contribution to guaranteeing self-sufficiency in food for the country and will supply broad areas which extend from al-Ta'mim to Salah-al-Din and Diyala Governorates.

Housing Land and Housing Projects

The governor addressed himself to the subject of housing, and pointed to the interest of the command of the party and the revolution and the president and commander, and his strategic view on the provision of suitable housing for citizens.

He said "8,274 plots of land for housing were distributed between July last year and July of this year and we have now prepared 2,456 plots of land for housing which will be distributed to citizens in the governorate soon. Meanwhile, more than 20,000 plots of land were distributed in the previous period, a period of war conditions."

He added that work was now continuing with redoubled efforts to build 4,948 housing units; these were being constructed by the General Housing Organization in the governorate. In addition, 1,200 housing units were built this year besides the massive housing project carried out by the General Oil Organization for the North, which includes the construction of 2,000 housing units for the people belonging to it.

"During the celebrations of the July revolution holidays," the governor stated, "a number of telephone projects were inaugurated in the governorate which will meet the needs of citizens and answer most of their demands, including the opening of electronic exchange 90. This will guarantee telephone service for more than 16 residential districts in the city of Kirkuk, with a capacity of 10,000 telephone lines, and will be capable of expansion to 30,000 telephone lines, at a cost of 10 million dinars.

"In addition, the Kirkuk electronic exchange will be built in the next 3 months with a capacity of 11,000 telephone lines, and it will be capable of expansion to 30,000 telephone lines. Work has been completed on the construction of a system of telephone cables in the city which will accommodate 30,000 telephone lines. In addition we will open a number of modern electronic exchanges in the Districts of al-Huwayjah and Dibs and the Subdistrict of Altun Kubri this year, with a capacity of 1,000 telephone lines per

exchange, which can be increased to 10,000 telephone lines. With these telephone lines, the Governorate of al-Ta'mim will have put a limit to the citizens' sufferings on the problem of telecommunications. In addition we have opened the project of the communications complex in al-Huwayjah District during the holidays of the revolution."

Electrification of the Rural Areas

For the sake of further information on the achievements which have been realized in the governorate, a number of officials talked about them.

The manager of rural electrification said "The department has approved a programmed plan to provide electricity for the rural villages; 11 farming villages have been supplied with electricity between July 1983 and July of this year, and in addition 258 residential buildings have been provided with electricity. Under this year's plan we have included the provision of electricity for 15 new farming villages, and the plan for the coming year will include the provision of electricity for a large number of farming villages in the districts and subdistricts of the governorate."

The rural electricity manager added that work has been going on at a high level of effort for 2 months to provide electricity for 3,425 residential buildings in the new al-Qadisiyah section, and it is hoped that this project will be completed during the current year.

Service Projects

Mr Qaysar Fatih Ahmad, manager of municipalities and acting city manager of Kirkuk, spoke about the most important services that have been provided, saying:

"Before talking about this subject, it is necessary to praise the efforts of the municipality and a number of government agencies which have effectively helped the city of Kirkuk win the contest for the most beautiful and cleanest city."

He added that the service projects whose construction throughout the governorate was ordered by the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, during his recent visit to the governorate have all been carried out. These included the paving of a number of main and branch roads, buildings for municipal offices, central markets, parks and so forth, in addition to the paving and surfacing of more than 22 main and side streets, at a cost of 7,283,388 dinars, three recreation buildings costing 304,127 dinars, the construction of shops and central markets costing 3,288,900 dinars, and the construction of children's playgrounds and public parks and gardens at a cost of 1,239,692 dinars. In addition, residential apartments and buildings have been constructed at the cost of 1,239,692 dinars, and sewers have been built at a cost of 260,214 dinars.

There are other projects whose costs have come to millions of dinars as far as the center of the city of Kirkuk is concerned. In the districts and subdistricts, a number of hotels and residential apartments have been built,

streets have been paved, and there are parks, children's playgrounds, modern markets and recreation areas costing a total of 7,000,440 dinars.

A number of great developments and achievements have embraced every facility of life in the governorate. Among these facilities, the agricultural sector is important and vital. This sector in the past and present year has witnessed quantum shifts which have been focussed on the addition of new farming areas which will be used and exploited in full in the coming agricultural season.

The director general of the General Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Authority said that the agricultural situation will witness great developments in the direction of guaranteeing self-sufficiency in food for citizens, increasing crops and exploiting new agricultural lands.

He added that the first stage of the Saddam irrigation project would create a radical revolution in the agricultural process, in view of the vital advantages it possesses which could develop the agricultural situation to such an extent that it will be enabled to provide food and raw materials for our domestic industry to support our economy in the context of the war.

He stated that preparations are now underway to start the national initial planting campaign, which will start during the next winter agricultural season. In the course of this campaign, 75,000 out of 350,000 donums which will be subsequently distributed by the end of this year will be distributed among peasants as a first stage within the Saddam irrigation project, in addition to the farming of broad areas in other regions of the governorate.

Dr Sabah Hasan, director general of health in the governorate, talked about the state of health affairs, pointing to the great developments it has experienced in the last year and the current one.

He said that this year will be a special one, since the new general hospital has been built in the governorate at a cost of 18 million dinars, with a capacity of 400 beds, and it contains various sections for surgery, laboratory, radiology and homeopathy, in addition to maternity, internal medical, surgical and pediatric wards. Work is continuing now to outfit it so that it will be ready to receive citizens at the end of the current year. In addition, a hospital is being constructed for the Districts of Dibs and al-Huwayjah and the Subdistrict of Altun Kubri.

The health director pointed out that a plan was being set out to train technical labor personnel with the goal of raising their competence and increasing their qualifications, in addition to intensified courses for female personnel in the form of governorate government employees, to provide them with accreditation in the nursing and first aid areas. In addition, there are broad campaigns to combat endemic diseases, public and school sanitation, and the observation and correction of violations. There also are courses for certified midwives aimed at increasing their competence and their use of sound scientific and sanitary methods in performing deliveries, in order to protect the safety of mother and child alike.

He added that the department has created new mother and child care centers in all health organizations this year.

The director general cited statistics on the number of citizens who visited health organizations between July 1983 and the end of July 1984.

The number of visitors during this period came to 1,373,989 citizens. The number of births in the health organizations came to 6,117, the number of surgical operations to 17,899, including 4,232 major operations, and the number of cases of illness which were brought into the hospitals to 46,039. The number of laboratory examinations came to 204,122.

Roads and Bridges

While work was continuing on the construction and paving of main and village roads, covering a distance of 675 kilometers, the General Organization of Roads and Bridges last year and during the July celebrations completed construction on the third bridge in the city of Kirkuk, which is one of two main bridges which the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, ordered built in the city, to connect the two sides of the city of Kirkuk and solve bottlenecks in traffic movement there, especially in traffic passing back and forth between the southern and northern governorates. Work is currently underway so that the second bridge, which is the fourth of the bridges in the city of Kirkuk, will be built soon.

The director of roads in al-Ta'mim said that the road and bridge projects which were completed during the July holiday celebrations last year and this year at a cost of more than 20 million dinars include the 34-kilometer Kirkuk-Daquq road, costing 2.4 million dinars, the approaches to the new Altun Kubri bridge which was inaugurated in the July holiday celebrations, 12 kilometers in length, costing 810,000 dinars, the intersection in the Kirkuk-al-Fathah-Kirkuk road, costing a quarter of a million dinars, the 38-kilometer Shawan Subdistrict-Taqtay-Rubarikuy road, at a cost of 2.7 million dinars, the fourth Kirkuk bridge, with approaches, 48 kilometers in length, costing 2.3 million dinars, the second lane in the Kirkuk onramp in the direction of the Governorate of Irbil, 9 kilometers long, at a cost of a quarter of a million dinars, the 25-kilometer road to the Kirkuk-al-Sulaymaniyah onramp, costing 950,000 dinars, the 156-meter Khassah Jay bridge on the road between Daquq and Kirkuk, costing 370,000 dinars, the 230-meter Tazah bridge, costing 97,000 dinars, and the oil pipeline bridge costing 46,000 dinars.

11887

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INCREASED 5-YEAR TRANSPORTATION PLAN ALLOCATIONS SURVEYED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 21 Jul 84 p 6

[Article: "Report: The Transport and Communications Sector Witnesses Extensive Developments"]

[Text] The transport and communications sector has witnessed extensive development as a result of the increase in investments to this sector, to which the leadership of the party and the revolution have devoted exceptional attention, from the dawning of the glorious 17-30 July revolution to this day. The investments in this important, vital sector have increased from 7,759,000 dinars in 1968 to 305 million dinars in 1983, and allocations to it have risen from 60 million dinars in the 5-year plan (1970-74) to 1,889,000,000 dinars in the 1981-85 plan, an increase of 3,148 percent.

In the area of railroads, cargoes transported last year came to 3,845,000 tons, while in 1968 they were 2,651,000 tons, and the number of passengers came to 3,589,000, having totalled 2,623,000 passengers in 1968 -- that is, an increase of 221 percent.

In the context of the blessed revolution, the first part of the massive Baghdad-al-Qa'im-'Akkashat railway was put into operation, the other portions of it were completed, and the capacities of the Baghdad-Mosul and Baghdad-Basrah line were doubled and modernized. In addition, dozens of bridges and culverts were built and replaced, and investments in the rail projects which are now being carried out are estimated at hundreds of millions of dinars.

The quantity of rolling stock increased from 1,668 in 1968 to 14,066 in 1983. Most old units were replaced through the construction of car and equipment repair shops, the modernization of other shops and yards, the construction of facilities and houses for workers and the use of modern management techniques such as computers in various activities and enterprises.

The operations of constructing the line to connect Baghdad to al-Samawah via Karbala' are continuing, and the rate of work on the new Hadithah-Bayji-Kirkuk line is increasing.

In the area of land transport in the era of the revolution, passenger transportation terminals linking the main cities in the country and also the capitals of the adjacent countries were constructed in 1978, in order to supplement passenger transport activity and provide new capacity for the tasks of transporting individuals.

Since its establishment, this activity has developed noticeably, since passenger buses transported 3,348,841 passengers inside and outside the country and the number of buses came to 400 and the number of offices 25 last year. In addition, all the requirements were provided for operation, repair and control, making a total of about 1,500 job opportunities available.

Substantial development has occurred in the services offered in the sector of passenger transport inside the capital, since the General Passenger Transport Agency transported 261.2 million passengers last year, while the number of passengers transported in 1968 came to 183.7 million. The passenger transport fleet increased from 682 busses in 1968 to 1,395 buses last year.

In the context of the glorious 17-30 July revolution, the cornerstone was laid for the process of transporting cargos in ordinary trucks allocated to this purpose; since 1970 cargo transportation activities by land have expanded, since the volume of transportation came to more than 10 million tons in 1983. The Cargo Transportation Agency now has about 3,500 trucks of various purposes, broken down among a number of branches, covering the country's requirements for truck maintenance accessories in the form of workshops, plants and warehouses. Their activity has extended to cover transportation from Arab and foreign ports for cargoes coming into the country.

The capacity of the Iraqi maritime fleet has increased from 12,000 tons in 1968 to 104,500 tons, that is, by 780 percent. The Iraqi shipping lines have managed to maintain regular maritime routes covering most areas of the world.

In the area of river transport, the necessary surveys have been made of the Tigris River from Baghdad to Basrah, the navigation route has been determined, the necessary navigation signs have been provided, and studies have been carried out on the Euphrates River. One hundred lighters with a capacity of 500 tons and 67 tugs have been purchased and the central pier has been built in al-Za'faraniyah with an estimated annual capacity of 500,000 tons and is now being expanded. In addition, a start was made on building river piers in al-Kut and al-'Imarah with all their accessories.

The cargo unloading rates in Iraqi ports have increased from 1,365,000 tons in 1968 to 7.5 million tons in the first 9 months of 1980, and the number of general and specialized piers increased from 12 in 1968 to 37 in 1983. There still are a number of piers under construction.

In the area of marine dredging, more than 15 million cubic meters of mud were dredged out in the first 9 months of last year, in comparison with 3.5 million cubic meters in 1968, and in addition dozens of projects of housing for workers in the ports and piers were carried out, work requirements and

equipment were purchased, the necessary facilities were built and work was developed through the introduction of computers into the areas of management and operation.

The sector of civil aviation and airports has witnessed a quantum leap. At the start, Baghdad international airport was inaugurated in 1970; then it was expanded in comprehensive fashion and opened in 1982 under the name of Saddam international airport. In addition, a new international airport was built in Basrah and two airports in Mosul and Banarni in northern Iraq, navigational equipment throughout the country and landing and lighting equipment in Saddam international airport was modernized, and meteorological services based on radar were introduced for the first time into aviation services.

The activity of transporting passengers to and from the country realized escalating rates, since 197,216 passengers were transported in 1968 while the number came to 1,075,000 in 1983 and freight activity came to 2,462 tons in 1968 then rose to 18,163 tons in 1983. The movement of aircraft increased from 3,149 flights in 1968 to 18,163 in 1983.

The Iraqi Airline fleet expanded from six aircraft in 1968 to 16 modern aircraft in 1983. The movement of passengers on Iraqi Airlines rose from 122,000 passengers and 830 tons of freight in 1968 to 458,000 passengers and 9,410 tons in 1983, an increase of 392 and 620 percent, respectively.

The number of atmospheric storm stations increased from 13 in 1968 to 34 in 1983, and the activities of measuring different types of solar rays and equipment for observing the upper layers of the atmosphere and providing photographs of clouds by satellite, establishing a telecommunications system for storms and using modern methods for retaining and analyzing information and aerial maps, such as microfilm and computer, have been introduced.

The Ministry of Transport and Communications has realized extensive steps in the area of communications. The total number of telephones increased from 99,000 in 1968 to about 700,000 in 1983 and telephone density increased from 0.88 per hundred to 4.34 per hundred during the same period. Electronic exchanges have been introduced to serve the districts and some subdistricts in addition to the governorates.

In the area of domestic and international links, an 11,000-line exchange has been constructed, including 1,000 lines for international communications. During the life of the revolution, communications among cities have developed through the national microwave and coaxial cable, and the channels allocated to that purpose now total 12,565, whereas before the revolution they were operated manually.

The number of telex channels operating with various countries of the world at present comes to 313, and the number of channels for telephone purposes with various countries comes to 412. These two services did not exist before the revolution. In addition they have been introduced into the service of microwave and coaxial cable projects to achieve links with Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

During the life of the revolution specialized training centers such as the Higher Telecommunications and Postal Institute, the Civil Aviation, Railway and Regional Storm Institutes and vocational training centers for ports and ground transportation and ground trainers providing accreditation for the staff required for various transport and communications activities have been created and expanded.

11887

CSO: 4404/24

EXTENSIVE ROAD NETWORK BUILT IN WARTIME

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 16 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Rawiyah Hashim: "Through Years of War, Widespread Road Network Completed in the Northern Governorates"]

[Text] Suspended roads that stretch between mountain tops, and wide, paved highways which link various regions of the northern sector of the country, including the autonomy zone, in a widespread network of modern roads. All this reflects a measure of the great efforts that were expended in its completion, and the role of Iraqi technical cadres in the execution and supervision of work operations in a modern road network.

You are overwhelmed by surprise as you listen to duty officers of the General Establishment for Highways and Bridges who assure you that most of these roads were completed and integrated during the war years. Thus you see the motto, "one hand builds, while the other bears arms," materialize in front of you in these huge projects for roads and bridges which have been implemented in wartime.

In a tour it undertook, AL-JUMHURIYAH has followed up on the new road projects that have been implemented or that are being implemented in the northern sector of the country, and discovered the measure of the great achievements that have been realized in this area and how potentials and capacities were employed to push progressive construction operations in the country forward, in spite of the circumstances of the war of aggression that have been forced upon us.

The First Project

Near Samarra' City, on the main Baghdad-Mawsil highway, we halt to watch machinery on the move. Dozens of laborers are spread out over a wide area, busy leveling the roadway and building tunnels, while an unfinished bridge is being built above the Tharthar Bridge.

We halt at this project with work currently in progress. The project manager, Mr Muwaffaq Yunis 'Abd-al-Qadir talks to us, saying: The project involves building an external by-pass for the Baghdad-Mawsil highway. This by-pass will help divert automobile and freight traffic from the area of the Tharthar

subdistrict and the Nazim at-Tharthar Dam, and to dispense with part of the present road to the north of al-Tharthar which is liable to be cut in the flood seasons, as well as to avoid passing through the non-regular section of the main highway.

He adds, saying: Actual implementation of the first part began in 1981. It had been decided to finish the whole project in 1983, but a change in the course of the project and the addition of extra kilometers to its length, making it 24 km instead of 10 km, has led to delaying completion of the project, which will be opened in the middle of September.

The project consists of a main bridge over al-Tharthar Canal, 1,276 m long and 24 m wide, comprising 32 spans. Two separate, 80-meter wide car thorough-fares together with 3-meter wide walk-ways on each side and a central island 3.5 m in width will be constructed. This, in addition to 4 other bridges, the first 60 m long, and each of the other 3 being 30 m in length. Then we have the construction of a southern intersection for the project on the Baghdad-Mawsil highway, approximately 7 km south of Samarra'. This intersection will permit unimpeded traffic in both directions between Baghdad, Mawsil and Samarra'. There will also be a northern intersection, north of the Abbasiyah station to permit unimpeded traffic in both directions between Baghdad, al-Mawsil, Tikrit and Samarra'.

The main section of the project is 30 m wide in 2 directions, with 3 car lanes, a 1.25 meter-wide paved shoulder and a central island, 6 m wide. The project embraces all the technical prerequisites and services like lighting, safety fences, traffic signs and water drainage networks, ducts and ditches. The construction of the second railway line was taken into consideration in the planning stage of the project. Seven siphons for farm irrigation as well as 42 box-shaped and tubular aqueducts have been completed as part of the project. The volume of materials used in the construction of the project has reached 90,000 cubic meters of concrete, as well as 260 tons of asphalt and 10,000 tons of reinforcing iron.

After this short inspection tour of the Samarra' Main Highway Diversion Project, we set off to Ninawa Governorate. We met Mr Khalid Dhanun Ahmad, director of highways for Ninawa Governorate, who took us on a tour of the road projects implemented in his governorate. Before we began the tour, he spoke to us about the highway projects that were implemented in the years of the war: Thirty roads have been built in the governorate in the war years, with a combined length of 1,381 km. The most important of these roads is the Mawsil--Bayji Highway, 171 km long and 12 km wide [as published], which will be completed in November 1984. Its importance derives from linking Ninawa Governorate with Baghdad, and it is considered to be the main commercial artery for the movement of commercial goods from Europe to our country and vice versa. The highway will ease the passage of large trucks coming from Turkey and will reduce accidents.

The highway was divided into 5 sections in order to expedite completion. Each section has a supervisory team with its own engineering, technical and labor cadres. There are also teams that are specialized in laying out gravel, in paving, employing the latest technological methods, and in laboratory testing of the highway.

There is also the Mawsil--Zakhu highway which also includes building "al-Wakh" Bridge. This highway is considered to be one of the strategic and important roads of the country as it links Iraq with Turkey. It also has economic and commercial importance. The highway consists of a 6 kilometer-long and 12 meter-wide two-lane entry section from the direction of al-Mawsil. Then there is the main highway between al-Mawsil and Kask, again in 2 lanes, the width of each lane being 12 m as far as Dobash and 28 m for every lane as far as the railway zone. The highway has 12 intersections with the railway line, and on 2 levels. These intersections are considered to be very useful in reducing accidents, and in simplifying the transportation of agricultural products, especially grains like wheat and barley. Many support arches, and tubular and box-shaped ducts are interspersed within the highway, which will continue on to the north-western desert. A two-lane road, each 8.25 m wide, will branch off from the highway to the Badush Cement Factory.

The third project is the 'Aqrah Junction-Aski Kalak project, which is part of the highway that links Ninawa Governorate with Irbil Governorate. It is currently under construction in 2 lanes, each 8.25 m wide, beginning at 'Aqrah Junction up to Aski Kalak with a total length of 25 km. This highway has great importance as it economically, commercially and touristically links the northern governorates to each other.

Roads Suspended Between Mountains

In Dahuk Governorate we followed up on the highway projects being implemented in the governorate, including the al-Wakh--Zakhu highway project which is part of the Mawsil-Zakhu International Highway that interconnects with the Turkish border in the Ibrahim al-Khalil area. Because of the great congestion of automobile and truck traffic which passes through this part of the highway, a second lane has been built for this section and the Zakhu bottleneck has been widened.

The second highway that is under construction in Dahuk Governorate is the al-Wakh--Dahuk--Baysari Highway. It extends from the Dahuk-Mawsil Junction to Zakhu, passes through the new residential areas in Dahuk city and links up with the Sarsank-'Amadiyah Highway. The highway's total width is 100 m, with 2 thoroughfares, each 12 m wide, plus a central island 8 m wide. The project also comprises building 2 big bridges with 2 thoroughfares. One bridge is already under construction, while the other will be in the implementation stage soon. All work in this project is being implemented forthwith.

The third road is the Danah-Mawsil Dam Highway, which is one of the Mawsil Dam projects that links the dam area with one of the barrages in the Danah area, and which is being implemented by the Ministry of Irrigation.

There is also the Dashnatakh-Bahnumah Road which passes through rugged mountainous terrain, and which is so far 90 percent complete. Currently work is in progress on the approaches to the 2 bridges that have been built in Dahuk Governorate, to connect the city center with its new growth areas.

The projects that were completed in the period of the war are given in the words of the director of highways for Dahuk Governorate: The 70 km Dahuk-Sarsank--'Amadiyah Highway Project, the 18 km Mawsil Dam Road Number 3, and the 3 km road linking Maman with the Dahuk-'Amadiyah Highway, the 24 km Hasnawah-Warkal Highway and the 2 km main road in Suhayl City.

From Dahuk Governorate we moved on to Irbil Governorate, where we followed up on the implementation of modern road projects. In the Kalli 'Ali Bik Waterfall area we observed the work teams assigned to expanding and paving the new road leading to the falls area. We met there the supervisor for implementing the road project, Engineer Latif Ra'uf, and he spoke to us, saying: The road is 9 km long and 14 m wide. Its importance lies in its being a replacement for the old, narrow road leading to Kalli 'Ali Bik. It also reduces the distance between the Baykhal and Khalifan areas. Since the road passes through a very rugged mountainous area, work is being carried out through rock blasting. The 7 km road which links the Kalli 'Ali Bik area with Harir has been completed, it being part of the main highway connecting Irbil City with the border areas.

In our tour of the Irbil Governorate road projects, the technical section manager in the General Establishment for Northern Highways Implementation spoke to us about the establishment's activities. He said: During the years 1981-1983, the Directorates of the Establishment have implemented 40 highway projects, amounting to 1,085 km of roads, in Irbil, Dahuk, al-Sulaymaniyah, al-Ta'mim and Ninawa Governorates. Moreover, of a total of 64 bridges, 45 have been completed, amounting to 3,150 m in length. The most important road projects which were implemented to the full during those years are the Rabi'ah-Umm Daraykh--Tirfadi Highway, the Approaches to the Third al-Mawsil Bridge Highway, the Mawsil--Zakhu Highway, the Sarsank--'Amadiyah Highway, the second thoroughfare for the Kirkuk--Daquq Highway, the circular road in al-Sulaymaniyah, the Shaqlawah--Hiran Highway and the road leading to the Tatan Summit.

As for the present, there are 135 highway projects being implemented currently, including principal and strategic roads, access roads to cities and special roads, with a combined length of 2,960 km. The establishment has also set up a number of central and branch factories and workshops to repair and maintain machinery and heavy equipment and to manufacture some of them. This is in addition to training 3,200 workers in various specialized skills and to forming 4 road-maintenance teams, including one specializing in painting road markings, setting up safety fences and riveting traffic signs.

Thus the northern governorates are witnessing continuous and persistent efforts to build and maintain public roads that would link areas of the governorates to each other and facilitate transport and the movement of commercial traffic in spite of the war circumstances which the country is facing. These roads are being added to the series of progressive accomplishments which our country has witnessed in the years of the war.

12775

CSO: 4404/28

CORRESPONDENTS TOUR BASRAH, REPORT

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 15 Sep 84 P 9

[Article by Brig Gen Fayiz Fah ad Jabir: "Three Days in III Corps Sector in the Basrah Area and Its Gulf"]

[Text] It would be impossible for the investigator to discover the true situation in the Iraq-Iran War, which has gone into its 5th year, if he were to limit himself to what he reads or hears about this war. After the failure of all mediation to solve it by diplomatic means, both sides are preparing for a decisive battle to end this struggle. I thus found myself welcoming the invitation which the Directorate of the Iraqi General Staff extended to me to visit the theaters of operations, and to spend the days of the blessed al-Adha Festival with Iraqi soldiers and officers. The III Corps sector which is defending the Basrah and Gulf areas under the command of Maj Gen Mahir 'Abd-al-Rashid, was the first stop of my holiday visit. I accompanied the corps commander for the entire 3 days, and along the length of the confrontation line on which the corp is deployed in readiness to meet the expected Iranian attack. I say expected, because the Basrah area and its vital gulf is the one strategic area, which for more than one strategic reason is designated for the Iranian attack.

Situation in the Majnun Island Area

The Majnun Island area was one of the most violent and destructive of the battle areas. I became drawn to it by what I heard of the facts, detailed and summarised for me by Corps Commander Mahir 'Abd-al-Rashid. When I stood with him at its southern edge, I realized the enormous difficulties which both sides face in controlling it. It is an Iraqi island, 10 sq km in area, formed by alluvial deposits, and blessed by nature with gigantic oil deposits. In scores of military offensives the Iranians have attempted to gain control over it and finally they have managed to gain a foothold, no more than 4 sq km in area, which cost them tens of thousands of dead and wounded. The Iraqi Army has resorted to flooding the Iranian positions, and has placed thousands of mines, pits and heaps of barbed wire in the no man's land between the Iranian and Iraqi positions, paralyzing the Iranian positions and rendering them incapable of any challenging action against the Iraqi positions. To insure the fixity of the Iranian positions to the northern sector of Majnun Island, and to deprive them of supplies, the Iraqi Army has resorted to shelling those

positions intermittently, rendering the Iranian bridgehead militarily useless and unfit for future exploitation by Iranian formations to launch a big offensive to occupy Majnun Island.

The City of Basrah and Its Gulf

As for the Gulf of Basrah which circles the city from the eastern and northern directions and adjoins Kuwait overland from a southerly direction, it, together with the city of Basrah, has been transformed into a highly fortified stronghold, difficult to breach save for an ingenious military miracle. Land and air defenses and armour are proliferating in every scrap of land in the Basrah area. Machine gun nests are concentrated everywhere. Every house in the city and its environs is ringed with trenches and dirt banks.

The Iraqi Army has established absolute air and sea supremacy in the gulf area, and I did not observe a single Iranian plane or armed naval craft throughout the days of the festival.

As far as Kharj Island, the important Iranian port with its gigantic concentration of Iranian oil installations, is concerned, traffic has been paralyzed and a large part of its installations has been destroyed. The export of oil from this port has become an undertaking fraught with dangers.

Basrah City and its suburbs are subjected daily to night-time Iranian shelling, resulting in numerous casualties and losses. Basrah residents face these daily events with high morale and consider them an obligatory national tax.

III Corps and Its Commander

Before leaving III Corps Headquarters, I attended a press conference with Maj Gen Mahir 'Abd-al-Rashid. Also present were 30 journalists representing a number of important international newspapers. The Corps commander answered the scores of questions which cascaded upon him clearly and frankly. First however, a few words about III Corps Commander Mahir 'Abd-al-Rashid as I myself observed and understood him throughout 3 consecutive days. He is a Bedouin Arab leader, stamped with the mark of the Bedouin, a distinctive feature of Iraqi Bedouins that bestows upon them upright human qualities like truthfulness, frankness and bravery. He emerged from the ranks of the Iraqi Army in a natural manner and participated in the Iraq-Iran War. His III Corps suffered the fiercest and most intense of the Iranian assaults, but he was able to overcome and destroy them. He has entered into the hearts of his soldiers and officers, and into the hearts of the Iraqi people and has become a worthy example of successful leadership. He neither sleeps, nor permits others to sleep, and is a faithful friend to every soldier serving in his command. Before taking leave, I asked him if he has a fervent wish and he answered me with the mark of truth on his face: My fervent wish, and that of every individual in this corps is that this war will soon end in an Iraqi victory, and that we all move on to liberate Jerusalem side by side with our brothers in the Jordanian Arab Army, which together with its Supreme Commander enjoys our true love and esteem.

Humanitarian Phenomena

During this visit I observed many displays of humanitarian behavior, the most important being the refusal of Iraqi soldiers and their officers to avail themselves of the furlough of the blessed al-Adha Festival in spite of the fact that a big percentage of their number was permitted this furlough. This is in addition to the testimony of the III Corps commander to the many instances of bravery shown by individuals and officers of the Iranian [as published] Army. He detailed those instances with much respect and appreciation. Another manifestation which I observed with my own eyes was the fusion of army and people in the Basrah sector with III Corps, and their brilliant cooperative performance, as well as their closeness to the soil and the determination to defend it to the last man.

The last magnificent phenomenon which refreshes the soul and revives hopes and which I observed in all the defending units was praying at the appointed times, and I watched soldiers and officers performing it in rows under the protection of some of their colleagues.

The Expected Iranian Offensive

What most concerns the visitor to Iraq and to the theaters of operations is the big Iranian offensive for which Iran has long been, and is now, preparing. The question is when, where and how the offensive will take place? As far as timing and the considerations that govern it are concerned, that is something that springs from the estimations of the Iranian Command and is connected with the completion of military, political and psychological preparations. As to the location of the offensive, will it confront the Basrah sector and its gulf, or the central sector which is the closest to Baghdad and where armour may be used to advantage, or the northern mountainous sector where armour can be used to a limited degree and where mountain ridges may be used to protect the attackers? Yet another possibility is for the offensive to take place along the length of the Iraq-Iran confrontation line which stretches over a distance of 1,000 km, with the intention of stabilizing 2 sectors and penetrating the third.

As to how the attack will take place, meaning the manner in which Iran will implement its offensive, will it be the same successive human waves tactic as in the past, which proved to be a complete failure in the face of intense Iraqi fire, or by the surprise and quick penetration tactic? There is no room for surprise as the Iraqi Army has been able to fortify its front in an extremely impregnable manner, employing the most modern devices for field fortifications, in addition to constant land and air reconnaissance.

All these questions are bound to be answered by the Iranian Command, which is facing very difficult military problems, the most important being the total paralysis of the Iranian Air Force and its complete inability to perform its duty. There is also the shortage of tanks and armored personnel carriers to support the offensive, the reliance on the Revolutionary Guards, which lacks military training but dominates the Iranian Military Command, rendering it incapable of performing its duties and controlling the regular units. More

important than all the above are the very high losses suffered by the Iranian forces in the ongoing war and their impact on Iranian morale. Add to that the clear division in Iran between the clergy and the rest of the Iranian people, as well as the worsening economic conditions in Iran and the enormous costs of the war.

In the face of these great difficulties, the Iranian Command is temporising greatly and thinking a thousand times before launching such an offensive. It also has taken to utilising the tactics of psychological warfare, using the question of the expected big offensive to apply psychological pressure on the nerves of the Iraqi Command, in vain, however, as Iraq understands clearly what is taking place in the Iranian arena.

Iraqi Qualities Distilled by the War

Palpable qualities in the Iraqi entity have emerged, distilled by 4 years of this economically and humanly costly war. These firm indications can be discerned very clearly, the most important being:

First: the cohesion of the Iraqi people and its belief in its aims, ideals, Arabism, Islamic religion and confidence of victory. The unity of the army, people and leadership has been achieved in Iraq. Each Iraqi individual has been organized within a single cohesive framework, disdaining sacrifices no matter how great. Intrinsic Arab qualities have emerged in this entity, including the adherence to the motto of Islam and its dictates on the muslim of obedience, sacrifice and defense of land and country.

Second: a good combatant with a good weapon. The Iraqi soldier has been able to master his weapon to advantage in the course of the violent battles which he fought. The Iraqi leadership has placed the most modern and effective traditional weapons in the hands of this soldier, and he has utilised them with complete success.

Third: the high morale, the belief in victory and the adherence to a clear aim. The Iraqi soldier has been able to comprehend the conceptual, psychological and economic factors which raise his morale. The martyr in the Iraqi Army has also enjoyed the moral and economic generosity of the state, in a manner not experienced by any other martyr. It would not be possible to separate the morale of the armed forces from that of the Iraqi people and its psychological and moral readiness to withstand the misfortunes of war and to maintain the will to fight and win the war.

Fourth: comprehensive administrative steps to satisfy the needs of the combatant. The Iraqi leadership has been able to make available to the Iraqi soldier, together with his family, his subsistence and luxury requirements, and to provide him with the necessary recreation, to the extent that he lacks no more in his trench than at home.

Fifth: a capable national leadership. The Iraqi leadership has been able to gather both the political and military leadership in its hands. Crucial and final decisions no longer have to pass through routine channels and blind

alleys. Before they are made, decisions have in addition become subject to copious scientific and realistic studies, corresponding exactly to what is prevalent in progressive states. The war has enriched those studies with military, political and economic experiences.

Before I end my observations on my 10-day visit to the sisterly country of Iraq, I have to mention what I heard from scores of Iraqi officers and soldiers, in that Jerusalem and Palestine live in their bosoms and hearts and that they realize that their principal enemy is Zionism, which has usurped Arab land and what Arabs consider most sacred, and that they look forward to the day when they can take part in its liberation.

No doubt Zionism and its allies understand Iraq's military and political importance and the influence it wields in the organization of confrontation states on the eastern front, as Israeli colonization and Zionist arrogance have increased since the beginning of the Iraq-Iran War. That is why Zionism and its allies are attempting by all means to extend the duration of this war. Hope now rests on the mediation of the Islamic states to end it in the interests of Iraq, Iran and the liberation of Palestine.

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KINNERET REPORTEDLY BECOMING DANGEROUSLY POLLUTED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 9 Sep 84 p 13

[Article by Shi'a Segel: "Increased Pollution will Force Us To Prohibit Swimming on all Kinneret Beaches"]

[Text] The tourist season on the Kinneret and surrounding areas just ended a few days ago. Now, all those in the Kinneret area who are involved in the tourist industry are busy "licking their wounds" following a record season. But as they are recovering, they are already getting ready for "round two," expected later this month when the Jewish holidays begin and Israelis take family vacations in droves. The provisional data indicate that between half and two-thirds of the population of Israel spent some part of July or August in Tiberias or around the Kinneret, in short stays or long. The prediction that with the return of the Sinai to Egypt, the Kinneret would become the most important resort area in Israel came true. However, due to numerous oversights, most of the hundreds of thousands of vacationers who came this year to the Kinneret suffered from one inconvenience or another. So badly were some people's vacations spoiled that in all too many instances they declared: "We're sorry we came."

Hurting Tourism

It has further become clear that these oversights may cause national damage in two areas. First, the Kinneret waters--the main source of Israel's water supply--have been so seriously affected that the authorities are now considering a most drastic measure: legally prohibiting swimming in the Kinneret until the danger to the water quality has been eliminated. The results of the tourist industry also fear that many of those who chose this year to vacation near the Kinneret will not come back again, and next year will see even fewer. Obviously, the flow of foreign tourists to the Kinneret area may also be affected, because tourists who suffered here this year will not come back again. They will also tell their friends not to visit the area.

Who is guilty? Who should have taken care of the area?

At least 10 different bodies are responsible for the Kinneret area, and they are: the township of Tiberias, the Jordan Valley Regional Council, the Galilee Regional Council, the Kinneret Administration, the Ministry of the Interior,

the Israel Land Administration, the Ministry of the Treasury, hotel owners and other private concerns. But there is no forum at which all these groups can sit down together and work it all out. The absence of such a forum creates a difficult bureaucratic situation which in itself becomes one of the impediments to developing the Kinneret area.

In any event, one complaint is heard from all concerned: "There's no money! They're not giving us a budget!" However, there are things that are more important than money, such as water resources. It appears that even as Israel's principal source of water is becoming increasingly spoiled, there are still arguments over who should pay to save it.

Recent scientific tests revealed that the quality of the Kinneret's water has already reached an unprecedented low; the water has been affected to the point where it presents a real danger to bathers, and the future prospect exists of danger to hundreds of thousands of residents who drink the water that comes from the Kinneret. If the regulations that prevail in the United States were imposed in Israel, too, most of the Kinneret's beaches would already be legally closed for bathing. Given the seriousness of the situation, the possibility of closing the beaches is now being weighed.

The group permanently assigned to watch the lake's water quality is the Laboratory for Kinneret Research, which falls under the Society for Water and Lake Research. The Laboratory manager is Dr Moshe Gofen. According to Dr Gofen, over the last 4 years the Laboratory has conducted tests on the fecal coli bacteria level at all Kinneret beaches as well as in the northern feed from the Jordan River into the sea. Dr Gofen explains that fecal coli bacteria do not necessarily cause disease, but are used as an indicator of the pollution level from human and animal waste.

"Four sources contribute to the rise in the number of fecal coli bacteria: the direct flow of sewage into the water; the introduction of water sources that were in contact with sewage; bathers as direct contributors; and bacteria that is carried from the mud to the water by bathers wading through the mud, or through the natural action of the waves," Dr Gofen explains.

More Bacteria

He emphasizes that clearly the number of bathers in the Kinneret has a direct influence on water quality: the more bathers, the more bacteria. "Everyone, even if he's clean, has fecal coli bacteria around the rectum which are released in the water and which undoubtedly cause a significant increase in the quantity of bacteria in the water."

Estimates on the number of people around the Kinneret at peak periods vary between 130,000 and 250,000 in August, somewhat fewer in July. If we use the conservative estimate of an average of 100,000 people around the Kinneret on any given day in July and August, there would have been 6 million men, women and children who came to the Kinneret this summer -- an unprecedented number.

Most of these people have to use the Kinneret as a bathroom, doing what they have to do in the water. Some used surrounding fields; only a few used the running water set up by the Kinneret administration. The "contribution" of millions of people using the Kinneret as a bathroom was a destructive influence on the sea.

Dr Gofen explains that in Israel, no regulation has been established to date concerning the quality of sweet bathing water, thus the regional branch of the Ministry of Health has adopted the American standard which states that there cannot be more than 200 fecal coli bacteria per 100 cubic centimeters of water, taken as an average of the monthly testing. This standard further provides that the maximum allowed limit is 400 fecal coli bacteria per 100 cubic centimeters in no more than 10 percent of the samples.

Tests conducted by the Laboratory for Kinneret Research over the last 4 years showed that each year the Kinneret's water quality has declined significantly, until this year the numbers reached shocking levels. Scores of tests are performed each summer and Dr Gofen has presented the results of these tests for the years 1981, 1982, and 1984.

In 1981, 16 percent of the samples exceeded the allowed level. In some of the tests, as many as 4,000 fecal coli bacteria were found in 100 cubic centimeters of water (the maximum allowed being 200). In 1982, a significant deterioration was found: 50 percent of the samples exceeded the maximum allowance, and in some of the samples there were as many as 7,600 bacteria in 100 cubic centimeters of water. This year, the "record" was 9,500 bacteria in 100 cubic centimeters of water.

The American regulation establishes four quality levels for bathing beaches: good, satisfactory, poor, very poor. At the end of last month, tests were performed on the water from 21 beaches around the Kinneret, on the eastern and western shores. Again, the results were shocking: Only 1 beach could be categorized as good, 6 as satisfactory, 3 as poor and 11 as very poor. If the American regulations were applied in Israel, at least 14 of the 21 beaches examined would have been closed immediately.

Gofen warns that bathers are facing a real danger of contracting diseases. According to Gofen, "The danger also exists that the hordes of bathers will contribute to the pollution level to the point where it will also effect the quality of drinking water supplied to Israeli residents from the Kinneret."

Summarizing these bleak data, the conclusion is that the Kinneret waters have been seriously polluted and that they present some degree of danger to hundreds of thousands of Israelis. The main reason for this pollution stems from the fact that the Kinneret Administration does not have enough money to install bathrooms with running water for the hordes of vacationers. Head of the Kinneret Administration, Menashe Ben-Shlomo -- who is responsible for maintaining the water quality -- is well aware that the condition of the lake's water is becoming increasingly worse. He predicts: "We are likely to reach a situation where increasing pollution will force us -- by law -- to prohibit bathing on all the Kinneret's beaches."

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA DELAYED -- The financial agreement between Israel and South Africa expired around 2 and 1/2 months ago. Meanwhile, the renewal of this agreement has been delayed, a situation that has already affected the implementation of several South African investment projects in Israel. The negotiations on renewing the agreement will be held in January when South African government representatives arrive in Israel. The deputy director of international affairs for the Treasury Ministry, Efra'im Daberet, reported that negotiations are in progress with South Africa to place interim funds at the disposal of investors who wish to invest in Israel, until the signing of the new agreement. The delay in the negotiations on the financial agreement with South Africa is a result of the Israeli elections and the changeover of treasury ministers in South Africa, a situation which brought with it other changes in staff at the clerical level. The Israeli treasury expects that the South Africans will respond positively to their requests for interim funds. Israel also expects to demand an increased ceiling on the transfer of funds from South Africa to Israel. To date, South Africa has allowed the transfer of 20 million Rand. Although in past years, this ceiling was not exploited, in the last 2 years, there were projects that required the maximum. A temporary shortage has resulted from these delays. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 16 Sep 84 p. 51 9811]

SALE OF SOVIET TANKS -- Israel is offering rebuilt Soviet-made tanks for sale to international arms markets, tanks taken from Arab adversaries -- this based on reports from military sources, according to the Reuter news agency. For the first time, a small group of western journalists were briefed by senior IDF officers on the subject of "Project S," a plan aimed at rebuilding old Soviet T-54 and T-55 tanks. The tanks have been fitted with stronger American-made engines, the unique NATO 105mm firing system, a laser range finder and other improvements. The journalists were shown a film about the "S tank" that is being experimented on. They did not examine the tank from close up but were shown T-54 tanks that had been changed and fitted with the NATO firing system and other Western components. At the outset, the project was designed to rebuild, at low cost, Soviet tanks for IDF service. Now it has been decided that some of the tanks will be sold abroad. The price of a rebuilt tank is 3500,000, a fraction of the price of a new generation tank such as the sophisticated Merkava. It was not reported how many Soviet tanks Israel took as war booty from the Syrian and Egyptian armies. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, however, there are 440 T-54

and T-55 tanks in question, as well as 150 larger tanks of the T-62 model. The journalists were also shown rocket launchers taken from the PLO during the Peace for Galilee War. Officers explained that the launchers, mounted on 122mm tanks, filled a gap in the IDF's armament and were used in the war

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IRAQI OIL EXPLORATION ASSISTANCE PROFILED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 1 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Zayd al-Fallahi, "With Those Searching for Oil in the al-Azraq Desert; Three Days With the Iraqi Seismic Team"]

{Text} The Team Challenged the Foreign Companies and Beat Them; Members of the Team: "We Are Working As If We Were Fighting on the Front in Defense of Iraq's Reputation;" Director General of the Natural Resources Authority: "We Have Confidence in the Skill of the Iraqi Seismic Team and Its Clean Dealing With Us."

The next morning we returned to the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority. This time we met with the Authority's Director General Yusuf al-Nimri. At the beginning of his interview with us Nimri said, "I have nothing to add to what you heard the deputy chief of the Authority say yesterday morning. I would merely like to note a matter which I believe is of utmost importance. That is, since we reached agreement with the Iraqi National Oil Company [INOC] to send an Iraqi seismic team, we terminated the contracts with all the seismic teams of foreign companies which we were using. We did this in an effort to implement our programs because we had confidence in the technical expertise and the high level of skill of the Iraqi cadres in the field of oil and gas exploration. There were many difficulties associated with our dealings with foreign companies because these companies dealt with us on a purely commercial basis and they tried to achieve enormous profits through their work with us. They also deliberately hid information and did not give us accurate and correct data about the seismic survey operations which we relied on in our work in the field of oil exploration. The Iraqi seismic team's guiding principle, however, was its continuing positive cooperation with us without any material goal. It does not work on a contract basis and is not after profit. This is what saves us the large sums we were spending on foreign teams. Moreover, we have confidence in the technical and operational skills and capabilities of the Iraqi team and in the accurate data which it provides us. We also have confidence that it will treat us fairly and properly. In addition to this, we took advantage of the presence of the Iraqi seismic team to obtain an opportunity for

serious and fruitful training for a number of the Jordanian cadres who worked with the team and who will undoubtedly form a core for the establishment of a complete Jordanian seismic survey team, whereas we had no such opportunities when we worked with the foreign companies since the existence of national technical oil teams is not in the interest of these companies."

Finally, Yusuf al-Nimri said, "We take great pride in the fact that there is an Arab oil team of such a high degree of skill, which can manage operations which are considered the most delicate and sensitive in the field of oil exploration since the prevailing belief in the past was that this expertise was a monopoly of the foreign oil companies."

Before we said goodbye to Nimri, he said to us, "I would like you to take our greetings to our brothers in Iraq, and emphasize to them that we are always with them. We live your battle and your victories and we take pride in your heroic steadfastness in the face of the despicable Iranian aggression. We feel that our Iraqi brothers who today are making the most magnificent displays of heroism in modern Arab history are not just defending Iraq, they are also defending every inch of soil of the Arab homeland as well as the dignity, history and honor of the Arab nation."

These words, which were filled with true pan-Arab sentiments, were the last words we heard from Yusuf al-Nimri Director General of the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority.

Other Aspects of Cooperation

At the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority we learned about other aspects of cooperation between Iraq and Jordan in the field of oil and gas exploration in the brother country through 'Adnan al-Falai, who is one of the Iraqi technical cadres working with the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority within the framework of cooperation between the authority and the INOC.

In his office in the Natural Resources Authority building Falai sat among the maps, reports, and miniature rock and soil samples taken from inside the oil wells which have been drilled to speak to us about aspects of cooperation between the authority and the INOC in the field of petroleum geology.

Falai says, "This cooperation began in mid-1982 and still continues because Iraqi expertise in the field of petroleum geology has its role in bringing about a number of technical accomplishments which were made on the path of oil and gas exploration in Jordan. This expertise, says Falai, is a high level of expertise and is constructive and very useful, as the Jordanians describe it. The Iraqi cadres evaluated all the geological activities and studies which were done by Jordanians and foreigners in the past. This evaluation produced a number of basic results on which

the geological technical work in the Natural Resources Authority came to rely. In light of the Iraqi technical expertise the technical departments of the Authority's exploration section were reorganized and a number of specialized technical bureaus were created, such as the Studies Bureau, the Control Bureau and the Evaluation Bureau; moreover, positions in each of these bureaus were created. In light of the expertise which the Iraqi cadres provided, there was a review of the rock sample and core sample preservation methods for the samples taken from the old and new oil wells. They were preserved by means of proper scientific methods in special storage areas. The scientific geological documents were reorganized, systematically classified, arranged and stored in the archives. A workshop for the making displays of rock samples was established and Jordanian technical cadres were trained. In the near future a laboratory to determine the porosity and permeability of rocks and to make related chemical analyses through rock samples will be established.

In regard to supervising the geological operations accompanying the drilling of oil wells carried out by foreign companies under contract with the Jordanians, they will be made through the Jordanian cadres in cooperation and coordination with the Iraqi technical cadres who play an important role in this field and who have prepared geological reports and studies to explain the structural picture of the oil wells which were drilled in the past and which are being drilled at the present time, in addition to the wells which will be drilled in the future. They do this through a committee called the Exploration Committee, which will evaluate the geological results of the well drilling operations which the foreign contracting companies carry out under contract with the Jordanians. There are plans to start up the first Jordanian national drilling rig when it has the technical requirements needed to take over the production tests on the wells which were drilled in the past or which will be drilled in the future.

Drilling the First Two Jordanian Oil Wells

Regarding other fields of technical cooperation between the INOC and the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority, al-Falai says that the Iraqi technical cadres and expertise have effectively contributed, in cooperation with Jordanian technicians, to the drilling of the first Jordanian well in the al-Azraq area and the discovery of oil in it. It is Qarmah-1, which was discovered this year. The maps which the foreign seismic teams prepared through surveys which were conducted for this area were studied by the INOC technical cadres, especially the experts in the company's interpretations and quality control section, who chose the well site and indicated that it should be drilled.

King Husayn visited the well site and praised the Iraqi-Jordanian cooperation in the area of petroleum and the value of the role of the Iraqi technical cadre in this accomplishment. The second well was also drilled this month.

The INOC had sent two experts in delicate rock formations to evaluate the geological formation in Rishah-1 and Qarmah-1 and prepare a study on them. It also sent an expert in well cementing operations from the State Central Oil Establishment to supervise the lining of Qarmah-1 with cement.

At the end of his conversation, 'Adnan al-Falai stressed that the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority had provided all the requirements for the Iraqi technicians and fully endorsed all their initiatives and their innovations. It also sought to provide everything needed to assist them in making their mission a success and it is proud of the excellent technical effort and the expertise they are furnishing.

Before we left the Natural Resources building we asked 'Adnan al-Falai, "We have not seen anyone from the Iraqi seismic team; didn't you tell them we were coming?"

He said, "We sent them a telegram and the team chief will come tomorrow morning to accompany you to the team's work site."

Trip to the North

The following morning 'Abd al-Fattah 'Abd al-Razzaq, chief of the Iraqi seismic team, accompanied by Mahmud al-Dulaymi, the team's administrative officer, came to the hotel where we were staying in 'Amman to escort us to the al-Azraq desert where the team was. They suggested that our trip be that afternoon.

At 1700 hours the car was on its way with us to the north of Jordan and after about three hours, during which we passed through the town of al-Azraq, the car began to leave the broad paved road and headed out towards an unpaved desert road where the wheels of the car began pounding specks of sand scattering them thickly and screening our eyes from the road. Night then fell and its heavy darkness began to cover everything. The cold desert night began to sting our bodies sharply. It made us shiver from the cold and we crouched down in our seats trying to get warm. After a short while the dim lights loomed before us lighting up the dark desert night.

Mahmud al-Dulaymi, who was driving the car, pointed to them saying, "These are the lights of the camp where we will be staying." It was only a few minutes before we arrived at the camp.

Ten minutes passed before we came upon the camp, which was awash with the gleaming electric lights which turned the desert night into broad daylight. The men rushed out to meet us and on their lips was a single question, "How is Baghdad?"

We told them, while shaking hands and hugging them, "As you remember it: splendid. standing fast, victorious."

After a short rest in the trailers which were set aside for our stay in the camp, a table was set up out in the open and the team members prepared a magnificent dinner party to honor us. After dinner we went to the camp's club to spend the evening. This lasted until the early hours of the morning.

Early in the morning, life began to stir in the camp and the men came out of the air-conditioned wooden trailers where they lived to sprinkle their faces with a little cold water and have a light breakfast in the camp dining room. They then hurried towards the cars which would carry them to the field work sites which were only a few kilometers from the camp itself.

At the work site the men spread out over a wide area of ground, each one of them doing a specific job and carrying out a defined mission. This one is surveying the ground and drawing lines on the maps; that one is laying lines and cables. This one is supervising the work of the seismic vibrator trucks and is talking on the telephone with the engineer in charge of operating and maintaining the electronic photographic equipment in the middle of the harsh desert, the burning heat of its sun, and its sandstorms lasting for hours of the day. When the sun began to go down behind the horizon, the team returned to the camp, but they do not rest after the exhausting daily work trip; instead, they hurry to their offices to work there late into the night, drawing maps, making calculations, reading reports, and drawing conclusions from them.

Although we accompanied the team on its daily rounds and sat with the team members in their offices, we nevertheless found ourselves buried in endless mysteries we could not unravel. Nor could we figure out exactly what the job of these men was. Team chief 'Abd al-Fattah sensed the bewilderment. He began to explain the nature of the work which they were doing.

He said, "The seismic survey is the first step on the path of the search for oil. It involves surveying specific area of the terrain and recording the echoing vibrations by means of electronic equipment which record these vibrations on magnetic tapes which are processed and interpreted by the technical specialists. In light of the results which are reached, these technicians suggest drilling oil wells on the basis of data which the seismic survey provides. This in brief is the nature of our work."

In order to further acquaint us with the nature of the work, he took us on a tour in which we met a number of technicians working on the team so that we could find out about the jobs they were doing. The first one we met was Hani Ibrahim, the senior applied engineer, who is in charge of the survey section.

He said to us, "The survey work is the first job the seismic team does: lines are established, altitudes are determined, and triangulation points are set up on the ground which need to be surveyed seismically. Finally, the maps are drawn, and the values of the contour lines and the coordinates are calculated and put down on the basic maps."

Mechanical engineer Mahmud Shakir, who is in charge of the seismic vibrator trucks, says, "After the ground is surveyed and the maps are confirmed, the seismic vibrator trucks, which are specially-designed trucks with 7-ton iron blocks in front, raise their front wheels and then drop them with the iron block to pound the ground and cause vibrations. These echo downward and then are reflected back along wires containing geophones and then are transferred to the electronic seismographs."

Joining in the conversation was engineer Ramzi Yahya Nadir, who is in charge of maintenance and operation of the electronic seismograph. He says, "When the seismic vibrator trucks pound the ground, vibrations occur which range between 8 and 60 cycles per second. The vibrations travel down to underground strata and from there they echo back by means of wires containing geophones to the electronic recorder, which is a set with a capacity of 96 data channels. The set filters the vibrations, amplifies them, and records them on magnetic paper by means of a field computer attached to the set which processes the result on site. It extracts the basic data, photographs it on special paper, and sends it to Baghdad where it is processed, and interpreted and the final results derived at INOC headquarters." The mission of the geophysical interpretation section where senior geophysicist Iyad Fadhil works, assisted by geophysical engineer Dari 'Arif Muhammad, consists of conducting field tests to select and follow up operating controls for the area which is being surveyed. It also follows up on a daily basis the implementation of these controls at the work site, and guarantees precise implementation in order to achieve the best possible results. As for the other aspect of the section's work, this consists of receiving and evaluating the daily activity results and sending them on to Baghdad to have the characteristics of the upper strata calculated, to draw plans and collect data which the processing operation needs.

We then stop at the drilling section where section chief engineer Qays Hlasayn says, "After the geophysical section determines the operating program, we drill at the required depths points which need to be drilled. While we are drilling we take soil samples from various strata of the ground which has been drilled to determine the type of strata to see whether it is mud, rock, limestone, or gravel, and we make scientific tests on them."

During our tour we meet Mahmud Shakir, the official in charge of the spare parts storeroom, who says that the storeroom contains all the spare parts for the equipment and gear used by the team in its work so that the workers can be given what they need as gear and equipment wear out during operations.

Finally, we stop by Mahmud al-Dulaymi, the team's administrative and financial officer, who keeps the team going. He is in charge of providing all the team workers' food, housing, fuel, transportation, as well as other services. He also supervises the administrative work and the finances associated with the team and its activities.

As Mahmud al-Dulaymi says, "INOC has provided the team with the trailers needed to house members of the team. These are equipped with beds, closets, worktable and furniture which the members need, in addition to air conditioning equipment. The team also brought along electrical generators to provide electricity and a number of trailers were set aside as clubs, dining room, kitchens and baths for the members of the team, while the Jordanian side provided food which is cooked in the camp for three full meals [a day] to the team members. It also provided a number of vehicles to be used by the members. In general, all the workers here live in full harmony and work in the spirit of one team."

We Challenged the Foreign Companies

After 3 days spent with the seismic team in the al-Azraq desert during which we followed various aspects of the work of the team, and before we returned to Amman, we sat with team chief 'Abd al-Fattah 'Abd al-Razzaq so that he could talk to us about various aspects of the work of the team.

He says, "The team is composed of 25 persons: engineer, technician, geologist, geophysicist, electrician, surveyor, seismic vibrator vehicle driver, in addition to a number of administrative personnel. The team was furnished by the INOC with all equipment and gear used in the seismic survey operations. It is the most modern equipment in use in this field such as seismic vibrator trucks, cables, receivers, and survey equipment in addition to the advanced electronic seismograph, which had not been used anywhere in the world until just a few years ago." 'Abd al-Fattah adds, "Since the team began its work it has surveyed 1670 [sic] kilometers, including three areas: the al-Qattana area of central Jordan, where 315 kilometers have been surveyed; the Irbid-Mafraq area, where 729 kilometers have been surveyed, and then the al-Azraq area, where 636 kilometers have been surveyed so far. Only 140 kilometers remain to be surveyed as part of the team's program. The team is expected to finish its survey the first week of this month."

'Abd al-Fattah notes that all the data which the team has obtained and the tapes which they record are being sent on to INOC headquarters in Baghdad for analysis, processing and interpretation by the technical equipment in the company. The final data is then sent to the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority.

He stresses that the work of the team is not limited to surveying the areas defined under the program drawn up for it. It also has another role, which consists of training the Jordanian technical cadres so that a Jordanian seismic survey team can be formed in the future. We began heading in this direction by training a number of Jordanian cadres during their work with us.

The chief of the team adds, "The team's productivity is very high compared to the productivity of the companies which were working in Jordan in the past. We worked within strict controls and we accomplished our work

within a relatively short period of time. We provided good results in our work. The team's success and accomplishments spring from enthusiasm, self-denial, with which all the team's members are endowed, and their feeling that they must raise the name of Iraq high in this brother Arab country. They stress Iraqi skill and ability. They also have the feeling that they are in the midst of a practical challenge to the foreign companies which monopolize the work of exploration and discovery of oil, and that these companies have to be outdone. It is known that a number of foreign companies were working in Jordan such as CGG [Compagnie General de Ceop] of France and GSI [Geophysical Service, Inc.] of the United States, which previously carried out seismic survey operations of the same areas in which we worked but did not give provide satisfactory results. This caused the Jordanian government to terminate their contracts and call upon the assistance of the Iraqi seismic team, which worked quickly, provided precise data, and was highly skilled in its work.

The head of INOC and the director general of exploration in the company both visited the team several times and gave instructions on the need to work seriously and quickly to accomplish the program set up for us, and also [maintain] high technical skill and think of ourselves as fighting on the front in defense of the reputation of Iraq of Saddam's Qadisiyyah. Within the framework of their instructions as well as the directives of the minister of oil, all the members of the team worked with utmost zeal and accuracy and dedicated their efforts and technical capabilities so that their work could be perfect and its results good, especially since this is the first experience of an Iraqi oil technical team working outside Iraq; therefore, we are anxious for this experiment to succeed.

Finally, team chief 'Abd al-Fattah 'Abd al-Razzaq praises the cooperation of Jordanian officials, especially in the Natural Resources Authority, since they provided us with all capabilities and there was always cooperation, coordination and understanding between the team and them.

"Perhaps among the things that fill the souls of the members of the team with immense pride," says "Abd al-Fattah, "is that we hear the praise of the Jordanian officials for the work of the team and its technical skill and the results which it has given almost for free, while the Jordanian government sustains high costs and expenses through the use of foreign companies. It makes us very happy that we find our Jordanian brothers praising our role and expressing their pride in Iraq, its victorious leader Saddam Husayn, and the technical assistance it has given to the brother country. They are always expressing their confidence that Iraq will carry oil in its generous hands to provide it to this Arab country which is in most dire need of this resource so that it can make use of it in supporting its national economy."

The days which were spent with the Iraqi seismic team in the al-Azraq desert came to an end.

The days also came to an end which we spent in brother Jordan and we return to Baghdad. In our hearts and our memories live those young men whom we met, whom we got to know, and with whom we spent the most beautiful days of our lives: 'Abd al-Fattah, Mahmud, Iyad, Dari, Hani, Ramzi, Qays, Shakir, and the rest of the young men who have raised the name of our Iraq high. Iraq has a right to be proud of them.

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CSO: 4404/22

BRIEFS

MILITARY ADVISERS IN GULF--About 500 Jordanian officers and noncommissioned officers have joined the military forces of Bahrain to serve there as military advisors. They are retired or reserve officers and do not have official status. A group of retired military men with about 350 officers and noncommissioned officers went to the Emirate of al-Shariqah to serve in the private royal guard of the emirate's ruler, Shaykh Sultan Ibn Muhammad al-Qasimi. It is expected that a third wave will head for the state of Qatar. Informed sources say that the contracts with these military men were made through special committees that visited Amman for this purpose. These sources add that according to these signed contracts, the monthly salary of an officer varies between 600 and 700 Jordanian dinars, and of a soldier between 250 and 400 dinars. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1458, 12 Oct 84 p 8] 12547

CSO: 4404/38

PHILOSOPHY, POSITION OF AL-MURABITUN TOWARD PALESTINIAN CRISIS

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 19, 27 Aug 84 pp 10-13

[Interview with Ibrahim Qulaylat, leader of al-Murabitun, 2 days after the "Thursday Operation": 24 March, place not specified.]

[Text] The fires of the Lausanne conference and the echoes of reaction to it had no sooner begun to die down than Beirut surprised everyone, as is its custom and in accord with the Lebanese phenomenon in doing things. Beirut went back to its old ways, as was cited by various world and Arab media in a news summary on the morning of 22 March.

The news said, "The forces of the Progressive Socialist Party attacked the centers of the Independent Nasserist Movement, al-Murabitun, and seized them in a military operation which lasted only an hour." While various daily newspapers and radios have dealt in a detailed, elaborate manner with the operation, which is the heart of their journalistic duties, we at AL-NASHRAH, in accordance with our view of things, do not deal with what happens in a superficial manner. We are interested in the first place in shining a light or in dissecting the elements of an event and consequently becoming familiar with the facts. Therefore, before we refer to what happened in Beirut on Friday, we will detail here an answer to our basic question about who al-Murabitun are or what the Independent Nasserist Movement means. The answer also comes here from its leader Ibrahim Qulaylat, who met with AL-NASHRAH 2 days after the Friday operation.

[Question] As an introduction to the interview, can we consider the date of the beginning of your action as a movement to be the beginning of the seventies?

[Answer] No, the movement was established during the 1958 revolution.

[Question] We mean momentum and existence in an organized fashion.

[Answer] In the 1958 revolution the movement had a distinguished role. The 1958 revolution lasted 7 months during which the movement had a vanguard role in confronting the Bagdad alliance, the Eisenhower plan, and Sham'un's failure to be reelected. However, the movement developed in the framework of organized, party institutions beginning in the seventies.

The year 1958 witnessed numerous different disputes, as a result of which the movement and I, myself, were exposed to legal prosecution, imprisonment, and even execution.

[Question] However, perhaps the character of those disputes was spontaneous at that time?

[Answer] It was not a spontaneous action, it was an obligatory ideological action. However, there was no possibility to continue in the manner in which we had been. The organizational structure was delayed because of the concurrent formation of the central Nasserist organization in Egypt.

[Question] And this did not come to an end?

[Answer] We cannot say that it did not occur. It occurred in several forms.

It must be admitted that the time period under the rule of 'Abd-al-Nasir was filled with spiracies and events which diminished the concern for the coherent construction of a vanguard Nasserist organization. However, there were on-going projects to develop Nasserist thought into an organization. We believed that 'Abd-al-Nasir was a leader and a pan-Arab intellect uniquely capable of comprehending and examining matters and realities with regard to the organization. If it had not been for 'Abd-al-Nasir our organizational structures would not have been able to endure.

[Question] In regards to Al-Murabitun, it is possible to say that there have been two periods in its existence and endurance. Can you define the most prominent characteristics of the period of the seventies?

[Answer] The first period, the founding period had several important aspects. The emotional exuberance with regard to 'Abd-al-Nasir's personality and the July Revolution dominated, continuing until the end of the sixties when firm principles of the movement for the procedural philosophy of the Nasserist revolution were set and it was placed within the professional organizational framework. I began the building operation on his organizational principle, obtaining the progressive development of organized action to realize the framework of party institutions which enabled us to form it under such difficult circumstances as the death of 'Abd-al-Nasir and the confrontation against the enemy along with the Palestinian revolution.

If it had not been for the capabilities of the institutions in the movement, we would not have been able to confront the enemy in 1982 and to raise the slogan: "No to the expulsion of the resistance from Lebanon."

We must mention that in the meetings in the chambers of "Black Habib" before the expulsion, Philip Habib requested the expulsion of 2,000 of

al-Murabitun's fighters, right after the exit of the resistance from Beirut. This confirmed our susceptibility to the enemy directly after the exit of the Palestinian resistance.

[Question] After 1982 new changes occurred. How did they effect your organization? Is this the third period in the life of the organization after the two periods of foundation and the subsequent building of the institutions?

[Answer] In our movement we always interact with development, we take every stage into consideration and we resolve new forms on the basis of the development of our revolutionary duties and our duty to struggle.

We are almost the only power which was militarily exposed to a blow after the destruction. However, this did not prevent us from rising up from the situation which replaced the Israeli enemy after we repaired our institutions, and this is what the tremors of Beirut confirmed.

[Question] We will move on to another point. After the death of 'Abd-al-Nasir, to what extent is Nasserist thought able to survive? Is it in the form of an effective apparatus? And finally, do you believe that Nasserism within the limits of 'Abd-al-Nasir's experience is still able to last?

[Answer] The basics of 'Abd-al-Nasir's thought form a cohesive framework in all areas, such as politics, economics, and the ability to struggle. After all, we do not understand the ideology and the thought of 'Abd-al-Nasir's revolution as petrified principles. They are receptive to development, especially upon the basis of centralization.

[Question] Can we here ask you about the most prominent intellectual aspects in the development of which the movement participated?

[Answer] First of all, as a movement and in all of our struggles our intellectual foundation is represented in the essential principles of 'Abd-al-Nasir's thought. I believe that Nasserist principles and writings are able to interact with developments. This interaction remains controlled and cannot become separated from the bases of Nasserism. If that were not so the Nasserist experience could not last.

[Question] Is it possible here to ask what are the most prominent intellectual realms in whose development the movement has participated.

[Answer] First of all, as a movement and in all the fields of our struggle, our intellectual base is represented in the basic principles of 'Abd-al-Nasir's thought. I believe that Nasserist styles and fundamentals are capable of interacting with developments. This interaction will remain governed by, and it is not possible to separate it from, Nasserist bases, except when it is possible to continue as a Nasserist experience.

[Question] However, we have noticed that most Nasserist organizations are regional organizations despite the Pan-Arab essence of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

[Answer] We are a pan-Arab organization; we could not be Nasserists if we were country-oriented, and therefore, we are extended on the scale of the Arab nation.

[Question] Where, for example?

[Answer] In quite a few of the Arab states, North Yemen, Iraq...

[Question] Is this extension within the experience of the al-Murabitun or in Nasserist thought generally?

[Answer] All of us form a pan-Arab framework, in which there are uniform concepts of Nasserist ideology.

[Question] Despite that, has al-Murabitun experience remained tied to the Lebanese reality?

[Answer] We are centralized in the Lebanese sphere, but we extend into the Arab sphere as a Nasserist ideology. There is an exchange between certain organizations.

[Question] What prevents their unity?

[Answer] Current conditions and the Arab regimes.

[Question] Returning to your experience, can it be noted that the revival of the movement was brought about by the presence of the resistance in Lebanon?

[Answer] The context of our conversation rules out such talk. It is natural that as a pan-Arab movement, we would interact with the Palestinian revolution, especially since 'Abd-al-Nasir confirmed that Palestine formed the central issue and therefore it is natural with the presence of the revolutionary forces that the program of our action would be tied to the Palestinian issue on the principle of armed struggle.

[Question] Was the existence of the movement in the fifties tied to your personal relationship with 'Abd-al-Nasir?

[Answer] 'Abd-al-Nasir did not want his leadership to be understood in an idolatrous fashion. The reality of the revolution and the struggling cadres who prevailed at the scene had nothing to do with 'Abd-al-Nasir. This does not mean, however, that the abstract effect of 'Abd-al-Nasir's leadership and his revolutionary orientation did not have an effect on our struggle in Lebanon with his national and progressive aspects.

President 'Abd-al-Nasir and the philosophy of the Nasserist revolution were not an edict. The movement was formed as a result of firm convictions

which took shape by debate and argument. We began sympathetically to settle the subject on a scientific basis of which Nasserism formed the background.

[Question] Before going on to any other point, we must ask you about the nature of your relations with 'Abd-al-Nasir?

[Answer] It is not a secret that it was a relationship with President 'Abd-al-Nasir that I would not call personal but rather distinguished. The rationale of this relationship was characterized by 'Abd-al-Nasir's inclination toward the manner of my comprehension of my combattant role in this period. It is natural that this inclination was mirrored on my part by human sympathy for President 'Abd-al-Nasir, and that will last throughout my life.

[Question] With regard to the experience, it seems that it is concentrated in Beirut and in the Sunni community to be exact.

[Answer] We did not depend upon Beirut. However, it is natural that the majority of the members of the leadership were located in Beirut, the capital. Nobody can control this. As far as the fact that the movement is a Sunni movement, this is in contradiction in form and in letter with the national principles of the movement and with Nasserism in general. However, it is possible -- and this is not certain -- that the majority of the base and the leadership is from the Sunni sect at a time when the Sunni are a minority in the administrations. The question is tied to conditions and to geographical location.

In any case, we cannot accept being an organization for all of Lebanon, since we are a pan-Arab organization, so how could we be an organization of the Sunnis of Beirut.

[Question] Nevertheless, we must ask you if you consider yourselves to be an organization of the Sunnis of Beirut?

[Answer] No, never. This is a mistake, a serious mistake. It contradicts the reality of the situation. Nasserism in the al-Biqa' and in the north is no less than Nasserism in Beirut, Tripoli or Sidon.

[Question] But why was the Nasirist experience in Lebanon linked to the Islamic street, in your opinion?

[Answer] It was not linked to the Islamic street. The Christian street contains Nasserist currents and intimations, for example Najah Wakim, Nasim Majdalani, the late Khalid Saghiyah.

[Question] The appearance of al-Murabitun in the seventies was linked to your military revival. How do you explain that?

[Answer] The revival was in all of the institutions of the movement. The political aspect, for example, was more animated than at any other

time, and at the same time cultural activities and the mass media were also revitalized such as Arab Lebanon Radio, Arab Lebanon Television - which Israel assaulted during its invasion -- the Lebanese Red Crescent which bore great burdens, and the Arab Women's Organization. This confirms that institutions were becoming reactivated in all areas. In regard to the emphasis on the military institutions, the military struggle with the Zionist enemy made this necessary, especially in the June War. The military decision was a political decision, and this political decision was multi-faceted also.

[Question] The appearance of these institutions must have required considerable material means, isn't that so?

[Answer] Our institutions have modest capabilities per force of circumstance. We must distinguish between human capabilities which activate these institutions and the institutions themselves.

[Question] To be more precise, the question has to do with financial aspects of the organization?

[Answer] It was made available in the framework of the national movement. The other side is direct assistance given to the movement in addition to what the media reap from advertising.

[Question] Is aid from the state, the direct assistance?

[Answer] No, assistance comes from within.

[Question] Don't your relations with certain states leave material effects on the movement?

[Answer] No, it has been limited.

[Question] Libya, for example?

[Answer] Before the confrontation in the 1982 June War, the Jamahiriya supplied the requested specific and strategic military support. This is recorded as recognition of the Jamahiriya's role in our struggle with the enemy.

[Question] This point raises a question concerning the principles which govern your relations with the regimes.

[Answer] There is agreement to a reasonable degree according to the principles in which we believe as Nasserites in various areas.

[Question] In practical terms with whom can this be accomplished?

[Answer] With nationalist, progressive states which before the June war this was limited to the steadfastness and confrontation states.

[Question] Haven't you already visited more than one state in the Gulf?

[Answer] They were political visits between friends.

[Question] Couldn't they have been attempts at inducement.

[Answer] Kuwait, for example, knows well that our movement cannot be won over except on the basis of alliance for the sake of matters of destiny.

[Question] However the Lebanese scene has witnessed the projects of several Nasserist organizations originally protected by the various regimes, including Saudi Arabia?

[Answer] Ask the organizations and the countries themselves.

[Question] What is the determining factor in the internal relations of the movement?

[Answer] We are a popular democratic movement from top to bottom, and this democracy is represented in a manner which most democratic parties have not witnessed.

For example, in order to issue the weekly political announcement, a meeting is held of more than 50 persons. However, this does not prevent the leadership's ability to take initiatives in managing the struggle. These initiatives are tied to trust in the fundamentals.

[Question] What are the forms of the organizational structure within the movement?

[Answer] We have bylaws.

We use a general conference, a central council, a command council, and a pan-Arab council. There is an alternate member of the command council, a secretary of the central committee, a candidate membership in the command council as well as offices from which the executive councils in the regions emanate. This structure concentrates its human power within central offices of which there are 11 offices of different specializations. There is also a central office concerned with leading the organization abroad.

[Question] Is there leave time?

[Answer] Only for the military and also during fighting, but not according to the common meaning of the term. Rather there is assistance for the soldier to provide food for his family. Also leave time is natural in some institutions.

[Question] Concerning the military, is it professional?

[Answer] We have professional fighting personnel who are very well versed militarily in all areas of weaponry.

[Question] And your relations with Nasirite forces outside of Lebanon?

[Answer] Conditions are difficult, they do not permit me to elaborate.

[Question] During the invasion you refused the principle of removing the Palestinian forces from Beirut. Now after the passage of some time, do you believe that your decision was appropriate?

[Answer] We stick to our position. All indications are that the expulsion of the Palestinian Revolution was the most dangerous decision which was sought after in this period. All that happened was a result of the dim-sighted decision for expulsion.

[Question] The discussion of Nasserist organizations in Lebanon brings us back to the subject of their fragmentation and their multiplicity.

[Answer] This fragmentation was apparently planned in order to force this on the masses. Palestinian organizations and nations participated in it.

The absence of 'Abd-al-Nasir and the nature of current flare-ups prevented the fundamental forces from failing these plans and from winning over the masses in a limited framework. However attempts were carried out to form a united Nasserist forces front before the invasion.

[Question] Where do you place yourselves within the Nasserist movement? Do you consider yourselves to be the basic organization on the Lebanese scene?

[Answer] We have a vanguard Nasserist position rooted in Nasserist ideology.

[Question] Do you recognize the existence of other Nasserist organizations?

[Answer] This does not depend upon our recognition, the policy of an organization controls itself.

[Question] Do you intend to exchange opinions with other Nasserist powers?

[Answer] This is not a stage for discussion and debate. This is the time for complete freedom to face the dangers of Zionist-imperialist plots which have as targets all of the Nasserist pan-Arab causes.

[Question] Can you define some of the Nasserist parties whose existence you recognize on the scene?

[Answer] I have already said that the subject cannot be categorized or defined.

[Question] In considering the experience, we find that generally the opposition forces in Egypt, for example, have been able in the absence of 'Abd-al-Nasir to overthrow the Nasserist legacy. This is strengthened by the absence of Nasserist institutions. The al-Murabitun is also an organization linked to the personality of Ibrahim Qulaylat, while the party institution that you have mentioned is linked to a personality.

[Answer] Some wish to give this impression. However, we as command of the movement have cast away our longings. Nasserist work remains in the framework of a mafia of personalities. The institutions link us. This indicates that the institutions bear their responsibilities. Despite my absence from Lebanon, events lately show that the institutions are facing and have faced the most dangerous plot which was imposed upon us.

[Question] The phenomenon of the individual seems to be very powerful in our region. What is its reflection upon your action?

[Answer] It has no reflection. We have neither a contract nor any personal ambitions.

[Question] Let us move on to another subject. What is your position concerning the return of the Palestinian resistance to Beirut?

[Answer] Our position concerning this matter is publicly known and clear. Inferences and explanations have been numerous concerning it. We have said that the Palestinian people have a legitimate right as long as they are present in Lebanon confronting the Zionist enemy. It is natural that this is abolished in Beirut or in Alhamra Street. The Palestinian people have the right to fight the enemy until they reach the stage where they are fighting on Palestinian soil.

[Question] Some people reject the return of the resistance to Beirut on account of tactics. What is the dividing line between tactics and strategy according to the al-Murabitun?

[Answer] I am not concerned with the position of others. However, in regards to our movement we will not permit any effort or comparison which places tactics and strategy on an equal footing. We consider that the Palestinian crisis is a strategic matter, and we accept its responsibilities completely and also we will not be involved with any other tactical efforts which lead us to the black chambers, the other chambers of Philip Habib.

[Question] What governs your relations with the resistance especially since it is known that you have had good relations with some of its prominent persons?

[Answer] [They are governed by] our relations with the issue and with the leaders who assert the strategy for this crisis as well as the manner of struggle for the realization of confiscated rights of the Palestinian people.

[Question] Who do you believe is asserting this during the current disputes on the Palestinian scene?

[Answer] They are radical powers which a rebellious leadership has formed along side other radical powers in the rest of the Palestinian organizations.

[Question] Do you believe that the attack on your offices by the socialist progressives was because of your Palestinian position?

[Answer] An important aspect of it is the Palestinian issue.

[Question] Walid Junblatt announced his support for the rebellious movement in Fatah. At the same time he explained the attack against you to facilitate for you the entry of cadres and elements into the Palestinian Revolution. What is your opinion of this explanation?

[Answer] No one including ourselves, the Palestinian Revolution, nor pan-Arab forces can arrive at an explanation of the background of this treacherous attack. The attack shows a basic message, which is that al-Murabitun are working for the return of the Palestinian Revolution forces to the Lebanese scene, while all know that the Palestinian Revolution is present in the Jabal, in the al-Biqa' and in the north.

[Question] Do you tie the timing of recent events with the timing of your presence in the Libyan Jamahiriya?

[Answer] We have not determined the fine points of the dimensions of this treacherous operation, but I can say that it was not a clearly defined sectarian operation. Rather, it has a background which is more improbable than what has been suggested.

[Question] In this vein, don't you believe that confronting the enemy requires a pan-Arab dimension which does not reject the presence of Palestinian Arab parties on the scene of confrontation?

[Answer] We should not persist in treating this issue from a hypothetical point of view, rather international and internal conditions oppose this pan-Arab ambition which we should not drop from our calculations so long as we can help it.

[Question] What has occurred in the days following the attack on your positions? Do you believe that it will result in new policies and allegiances such as your relationship with Sa'ib Salam at home?

[Answer] These are conjectures. We are not effected by alliances which are a reaction to sectarian conditions because the principles of our movement are in opposition with narrow sectarian political alliances.

[Question] Does Mr Qulaylat have any intention of sitting down at the negotiating table with Mr Junblatt?

[Answer] We have not yet discussed this issue, nor have we dismissed it.

[Question] What is the role of the Nationalist movement parties with regards to what happened lately?

[Answer] It is natural that the Nationalist parties would consider what has happened recently as negative, because they are opposed to the aspects of the plan which was enacted against us.

[Question] Is there any way that these parties can face this plan which you have mentioned?

[Answer] In a limited fashion, no. However, in a general fashion we can raise these types of affairs, especially in Beirut, in the meetings of some of the parties to evaluate what occurred and how to deal with the results and consider the causes and dimensions of this operation and not to overstep them without thinking.

[Question] Some people are now proposing, after the dissolution of the salvation front, the necessity of forming a broad nationalist front?

[Answer] It was not proposed to us directly, but we have caught wind of it.

[Question] Does that mean that the al-Murabitun are excepted?

[Answer] No, it does not have that meaning, however, it is still only an idea for some of the parties.

[Question] Many accusations were directed towards you as a justification for what happened such as the opposition to Christians in Western Beirut?

[Answer] We will not respond to words which are not based on fact. Lebanese citizens know well that we trust in the coexistence of Muslims and Christians because we are basically a nationalist movement and not a sectarian movement.

[Question] It is also said that some parties supported what happened?

[Answer] What happened?

[Question] The Syrian Nationalist party and the Committees' Grouping.

[Answer] These are reports from the Socialist Party. There were joint visits between these parties of ours and the Socialist Party to deal with the events which had occurred.

[Question] Are you going to return to your positions and to your institutions?

[Answer] We are at our positions.

[Question] Finally, this conversation took place in Damascus. Also most of the leadership of the Progressive Party are present in Damascus, is there also a Syrian role in this?

[Answer] I arrived in Syria before the treacherous event. According to our pan-Arab principles we consider Syria to be a pan-Arab strategic element. We trust in its role to rectify any disruption in the nationalist and pan-Arab scene, especially since Lebanon has a central position in the struggle.

12390

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LEBANON

CENTRAL BANK BOARD STILL INACTIVE DUE TO RETIREMENTS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 77, 29 Sep 84 p 63

[Article by Ibrahim 'Awadah]

[Text] On the 7th of this September, the term of the governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon, Shaykh Michel al-Khuri, came to an end without the Lebanese Cabinet being able to address this important economic and financial vacancy since it failed to choose a successor, so it postponed a decision on the matter and asked the current president, Shaykh Michel al-Khuri to stay on at his post until a governor could be decided upon, in spite of the financial and banking risks that such a situation would involve, risks whose price has been paid and is being paid by the Lebanese economy in general and the Lebanese national currency in particular.

For about a year, the Bank of Lebanon has had the problem of not being able to carry out its assigned function, which is to draw up a financial policy for the country and to work to have it properly implemented; that includes protecting the national currency, supporting the Lebanese economy, and ensuring financial and monetary stability in the country. That is because the central board of the Bank of Lebanon, the highest authority which has the power to adopt essential monetary resolutions, has been idle because the three deputy governors have been absent since they retired in the summer of last year. Along with the president, in addition to a representative of the Ministry of Economy and Trade and the president of the bank supervisory committee, they make up the legal body which ensures that meetings of the board are held and that executive decisions are issued. Because of this "absence," the present governor of the Bank of Lebanon, who took over the governorship during the presidency of the former Lebanese president Elias Sarkis, has found himself in an unenviable position. The monetary situation is deteriorating because the pound is constantly getting weaker, and there are no monetary policies aimed at rescuing it, what with the absence of the Central Board, and the Bank of Lebanon's stocking up on foreign currency is the latest in the serious and continuous decline.

Therefore, since the beginning of the current year, 1984, the monetary situation in Lebanon has become the worst it ever has been. In practical terms, this translates to a severe decline in the price of the Lebanese pound, which by the end of last August had declined by 22 percent compared to

the American dollar, which increased the rate of inflation and the problems of making ends meet for those with middle and limited incomes after the prices of imported goods got noticeably higher, in addition to increasing the amount of the public debt (28 billion pounds by the end of the eighth month of this year) and the continuation of the deficit in the balance of payments, in addition to the pressures facing the exchange rate of the national currency. The governor of the Bank of Lebanon has frequently written to the Cabinet asking that they expedite the end of his term and the appointment of a new governor with his deputies in order to revive the Central Board and enable it to take the steps and measures that will shore up the national currency and bring order back to the monetary and economic situation in the country. However, it was the gravity of political and security problems which occupied the government, so it continued to neglect this important monetary and economic issue until 24 hours before the new term at the Bank of Lebanon was to begin. Then on September 6, the Cabinet met at the presidential palace in Ba'abda to appoint a new governor and his three deputies, after having paved the way before addressing this issue by contacting politically influential people both within and outside of the Cabinet in order to reach an agreement on the person of the new governor and the names of his deputies, because it is the custom in Lebanon for the appointment of the new governor of the Bank of Lebanon to receive political sanction and approval, because in the view of many involved in politics in Lebanon, getting into the governorship opens the way to the opportunity of becoming President of the Republic. President Ilyas Sarkis, and before him President Charles Helu, were in the governorship of the Bank of Lebanon before they attained the first presidency.

While the Cabinet was meeting, the governor of the Bank of Lebanon, Shaykh Nichel al-Khuri, was making his farewell speech to Bank employees on the occasion of the end of his term and his leaving the governorship. He was also getting ready to hold a luncheon that day for a number of bankers for the occasion, and after that he was preparing for a long trip for relaxation outside of Lebanon, specifically Paris, in order to rest.

While the price of the American dollar was falling noticeably that day, and considering that the speculators in the money market were afraid of the act of appointing a new governor and deputies to the Bank of Lebanon and of the possibility that the Bank might take harsh monetary measures against the speculators so they undertook to make their profits and call a truce, the Cabinet surprised everyone after several hours when Prime Minister Rashid Karami announced that the Cabinet had decided to ask the governor of the Bank of Lebanon to stay on at his post until the new governor was appointed. The result of that was that the next day the dollar resumed its mad rise, and was on the threshold of 7 Lebanese pounds for the first time in the history of Lebanon after the Cabinet confirmed by the content of its decision that the Bank of Lebanon's power to restrain speculative activity in the money market against the pound would continue to be absent with the absence of those holding this power in the Central Board.

Ministerial sources revealed to AL-TADAMUN a serious aspect of the divisions that appeared within the Cabinet when the subject of the governorship of the

Bank of Lebanon was discussed, specifically between the President of the Republic Amin al-Jumayyil, who wanted to remove the present governor from his post and not give him a second term, and the Minister of Finance President Camille Chamoun who strongly supported putting the director general of the treasury department, Dr Khitar Shibli, in the governorship post.

These sources explained that shortly before the Cabinet meeting began, President al-Jumayyil met privately with President Chamoun in an attempt to persuade him to choose Mr Joseph Fadul (the owner of offices for banking consultation) for the post of governor of the Bank of Lebanon, while President Chamoun, as minister of finance, had proposed the director general of the treasury department, Dr Hkitar Shibli, for the post. In vain President al-Jumayyil tried to get President Chamoun to agree to Mr Fadul, while the latter stuck to his position, even going to the extent of threatening to resign.

Faced with a rising crisis in light of the difference of opinion between the two presidents al-Jumayyil and Chamoun, and in order to avoid a political governmental crisis that could occur if President al-Jumayyil continued to insist on his candidate for the governorship of the Bank of Lebanon and if President Chamoun continued to insist that he would counter with his resignation if President al-Jumayyil's candidate were appointed, the Cabinet agreed to postpone a decision on this matter and to ask the current governor of the Bank of Lebanon to stay on at his post until a candidate for the governorship could be unanimously agreed upon.

These Cabinet sources add that President Chamoun could have agreed to the appointment of President al-Jumayyil's candidate, Mr Joseph Fadul, as governor of the Bank of Lebanon if President al-Jumayyil had not announced at the beginning of the Cabinet session the appointment of Mr Joseph al-Hashim as minister of the post and health to succeed the former minister, the later Pierre al-Jumayyil. President Chamoun saw the appointment of Mr al-Hashim, who was from the Phalangist region, as a challenge to him both within and outside of the Cabinet, so when the subject of the governorship was brought up, he wanted to resist President al-Jumayyil, so he threatened to resign if his views on the appointment of his candidate, Dr Khatir Shibli, as governor of the Bank of Lebanon was not accepted. His attention was to embarrass President al-Jumayyil and to create a government crisis that could sweep away the Karami government, so the president of the republic agreed to postpone the decision on the governorship in an attempt to limit President Chamoun's trouble-making.

While waiting for the Cabinet to make a decision of the issue of the appointment of a new governor and deputies to the Bank of Lebanon, enabling the Bank to carry out its important monetary function in the country, the Lebanese pound, the national economy, and therefore those Lebanese with middle and limited incomes must hang tight and wait--wait for disagreements among the politicians to end so they can devote themselves to economic and financial issues, and from there to issues of life. Can the pound continue to hold on--and for how long?

12547

CSO: 4404/37

LEBANON

BRIEFS

MEA PROFITS REVIVE--During the past two months of July and August, the pace of work at Middle East Airlines was noticeably brisk. The president of the airline's board of directors, Mr Salim Salam, explained that during the aforementioned period the airline's fleet had transported more than 114,000 passengers and that revenues reached 120 million Lebanese pounds, which enabled the airline to realize a profit for the first time since last February. On another subject, an extraordinary plenary session of Middle East Airlines has been called for next October to discuss increasing the airline's capital from 150 to 200 million pounds. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 77, 29 Sep 84 p 60] 12547

CSO: 4404/37

GOVERNMENT CONDUCTS SECURITY OPERATIONS IN HAMAH

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 342, 1 Oct 84 p 15

[Article: "Security Measures in Hamah"]

[Text] People coming from Damascus have disclosed new security measures being taken by Syrian authorities in the city of Hamah, which in February 1982 was laid in ruins by security forces and defense companies in a massacre which claimed about 30,000 victims, according to some neutral estimates.

These new measures are being hidden under the guise of rebuilding some of the mosques and churches of Hamah. Those arriving explain that Syrian authorities announced the formation of a "Party" committee to collect donations, and that citizens realized that the authorities' aim behind that was to discover in which directions their sympathies lay.

The sources add that designs laid by the authorities for the mosques slated for rebuilding are bent on reducing the areas of the ruined mosques to a quarter or at most a half, as is the case with the Mosque of Muhammad al-Hamid and the Mosque of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. The designs give the mosques one door for entry and exit, and they also call for the establishment of consumer establishments by each mosque in order to observe those coming and going. Regarding the locations for rebuilding these mosques, it was decided to remove them from the midst of populated neighborhoods so they could be in a distant and exposed area.

Meanwhile, these sources report that the people of Hamah have discovered new thefts of historical crowns and columns that are a historical legacy of the city's mosques, equal to the thefts that occurred from the Great Mosque.

On another subject, AL-DUSTUR has learned from reliable sources in Damascus that two of the men of religion, one of whom was Shaykh Salah 'Aqleh, met with the Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad in a meeting which included a group of learned men of religion, and that Shaykh Salah had appealed to the Syrian president to release innocent people who were in prison. Hafiz al-Asad replied saying that he had pursued the matter personally, and had asked the heads of intelligence branches to release innocent people, and it was explained to him that there were no innocent people in the prisons!

These same sources add that another shaqah, who did not want his name to be revealed, asked President al-Asad to issue a list with the names of those who had been killed or lost in the Hamah events, and of those who had been missing for years so that the families would be able to take care of matters relating to inheritance and marriage and other such things, but the Syrian president averted his face and dismissed the meeting.

The sources reveal other struggles taking place among the men of religion supportive of the government, especially over the post of Mufti of the republic. They say that the struggle is fiercest between Shaykh Salah 'Aqleh, one of those who support the regime and the authorities, and Ahmad Kiftaro, the current Mufti of the Republic, and the 'ulama' of Damascus had chosen Kiftaro because he is not as bad as 'Aqleh, who is not even distantly related to 'Adnan 'Aqleh, head of the "Fighting Front" which split from the Muslim Brotherhood.

The sources say that this struggle, which goes back as far as 1980 and which included an assassination attempt against Shaykh 'Aqleh in which he was wounded in the neck, has extended to Aleppo, where it goes on between Sahib al-Shami, from whom those in the office of the director of awqaf in Aleppo derive their authority, and a group of elderly 'ulama'.

Sahab al-Shami aspires to the post of Mufti of the Republic, even though he is not more than 35 years old, on the basis of his relations and contacts with the authorities, relations which began when he was a secondary student in the religious schools.

Apart from the measures being taken by the authorities in Hamah, and the struggle being waged over the post of Mufti of the country, those coming from Damascus speak of a worsening of the food supply crisis, the disappearance of basic food commodities from the markets, and the increase in the prices of other goods, the like of which has not been seen before, along with the continuing decline of the Syrian currency.

Market experts in the Damascus bazaar consider that the reason for the accelerated decline in the Syrian pound was Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon, from which it used to import many foodstuffs with Syrian currency in view of its lack of hard currency. At the same time, the pertinent authorities have decided to ration the quantity of bread consumed by each family, while authorities were unable to supply basic foodstuffs such as oranges, lemons, bananas and other goods which have disappeared from the market, and the price of vegetables such as eggplants, okra, and beans rose to 14 Syria pounds per one kilogram.

In the face of rising costs and the intolerable circumstances relating to the security situation and the deteriorating economic situation, emigration out of the country has increased. Among teachers alone, the pertinent agencies have this year received more than 3000 requests for removal or transfer submitted by teachers.

12547

CSO: 4404/37

PLANS TO FURTHER DECREASE INFLUENCE OF AMERICA IN REGION

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 19, 27 Aug 84 p 9

[Article: "Parties and Associations of Liberation Movements: "The Abrogation of the May 17th Agreement Is a Victory For All Forces Opposing Imperialism"]

[Text] A conference was held in Damascus for representatives of nationalist and progressive parties to study conditions in the region and especially the effects of the abrogation of the 17 May Agreement which are positive on the Arab and the international scene. All of the following parties and associations participated in this conference:

The Bahraini Nationalist Liberation Front, People's "March Council in Jordan, the Kurdistan Socialist Party in Iraq, the Iraqi Communist Party, the People's Front in Bahrain, the Jordanian Communist Party, the Revolutionary Party of the Jordanese People, the Popular Front in Jordan, the Arab Socialist Workers Party in the Arab Peninsula, the Communist Party in Saudi Arabia, the Nationalist Democratic Front in Iraq, the Socialist Party in Iraq, the Kurdish Socialist Party, the Democratic Party of the Kurdistan People in Iraq, the Iraqi Democratic Grouping, the Popular Front for the Liberation of 'Amman, the Egyptian Nationalist Grouping Abroad, the Ba'ath Socialist Party -- Leadership of the Jordanian Section, the Democratic Front for Somalian National Liberation. At the end of the conference the conferees issued a statement which contained the following:

The abrogation of the May 17 agreement, Camp David II, is a great victory for the Lebanese people, Pan-Arab and progressive forces, the National Salvation Front and the 'Amal Movement. The goal of the agreement was to change Lebanon into a hostile base for American imperialism against the Arab National Liberation movement in the area and against the national Arab states and the organization of socialist states.

This victory exposed the American allies including the leaders of the Arab reactionaries and espeigally the leaders of Saudi Arabia who went to greath lengths to arrange and conceal American imperialist crimes, and the crimes of Israeli leaders against Arab nationals. This victory also uncovered all of the suspicious projects perpetrated by the leaders of Egypt and Jordan to eradicate the Palestinian crisis on the basis of the Regan plan and Camp David.

The situation in the Palestinian Resistance Movement, the project belonging to all parties of the nationalist Arab liberation movement is still worrisome. Arab liberation movements are renewing their affirmation that just and complete peace in the Middle East cannot be realized without the acknowledgement and implementation of the nationalist rights of the Palestinian Arab people including the right of return, self determination, and the establishment of an independent state. In this regard, maintaining the unity of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, solving the differences on a democratic, national, and progressive basis, opposing American and Israeli imperialism, stopping definitively attempts by Arab reactionaries at containment, adherence and commitment to the resolutions of the Palestinian National Councils in facing the "Israeli" enemy, refusing clearly the politics of Camp David, individual agreements, the Regan plan, and plans of King Husay, allying firmly with Syria, Arab national liberation movements, and the Organization of Socialist States lead by the Soviet Union, these are the true guarantees of PLO unity and will supply the factors for the continuance of the Palestinian struggle.

American imperialism is striving to create new tension and to exploit existing tension to expand its hostile presence and to increase its ability to threaten our people and world peace. In this regard it is not possible to consider the serious escalation in the Iraq-Iran war in isolation from the ambitions of Washington on the basis of support for it in both Iraq and Iran to enforce its mandate, strengthen its political and military presence in the Gulf and the Arab Peninsula and to threaten the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. All of this conforms with the policy of the White House to increase the level of tension and to threaten the world. It is an attempt to change the balance of power in the region in an attempt to narrow the victory gained by the Lebanese people and all Arab nationals, and an attempt to block any popular uprising in our countries. It is not a matter for surprise that Iraq's usage of internationally prohibited chemical weapons has rekindled the war which portends the usage of the same weapons by the other side, and which leads to the severe harm of the two peoples. This is accompanied by an increase in the voices in Iran announcing their refusal to recognize the right of the Iraqi people to their self-determination and the establishment of a system of national alliance which realizes democracy for Iraq and self-determination for Kurdistan.

All of the nationals in the Arab countries are calling for the end to the Iraq-Iran War on a just democratic basis and the right of the two peoples to self-determination in the form of a system of government and the unity of their joint struggle against imperialism, zionism, and reactionaries.

The next period requires an intensification of the struggle to consolidate the victory in Lebanon by expelling the "Israeli" occupiers from all Lebanese territory, the building of a unified nationalist democratic Arab Lebanon, and intensifying the nationalist Egyptian and Arab struggle

to overthrow the Camp David Agreements and the return of free National Democratic Egypt, having defected from the national Arab struggle, and converting the victory achieved by the national Lebanese forces in firm alliance with courageous and tough Syria into a wide-spread popular Arab uprising neutralizing all imperialist American, Zionist, and reactionary Arab plan.

12390

CSO: 4404/665

DEFENSE EXPERT SAYS INDIAN MILITARY POWER ADEQUATE

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 7 Oct 84 p 7

[Text] Chandigarh, Oct. 6.--Mr Subramaniam, director of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis, said here today that, as things stood now, India's military power was adequate to deal with any confrontation with her neighbours.

He was speaking at the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development.

Mr Subramaniam favoured an integrated and overall view of India's security problems in the next decade or so.

He identified various aspects which needed to be kept in mind while talking of security in the 80s and 90s. He pointed out that today the world's military expenditure every year was \$650 billion.

Of this, only 15% was spent by the developing countries and among the developing countries too, 52% of the military expenditure was in the 12 oil-exporting countries and the rest being borne by 110 countries. This international picture had to be viewed in the context of the country's security needs.

Differences

India had some basic differences compared with her neighbours. For instance, India had a democratic, federal set up where languages in different regions enjoyed a certain status. This might not be the case in neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Sri Lanka. These countries might not like greater interaction with India at people's level because of such differences.

The military equipment, especially aircraft, was a fast changing phenomenon and India had to keep pace with it though there were not enough facilities for building them. The developments in this field would be in the overall context of technology advanced in the country. The nuclear capability of any neighbour was also an important factor. In reply to a question, he said that it was possible to explode an untested nuclear device as was done in case of the American bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Mr Subramaniam gave an interesting interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's concept of non-violence while replying to a question. Mahatma Gandhi had tried non-violence in offence, that was to bring about a change and not necessarily in the military

sense. But the use of non-violence as a weapon of defence had not been tried. In fact, Gandhiji justified use of violence in defence.

Maj.-Gen. Rajendra Nath (retired), who presided, emphasized the importance of military leadership and personnel--the human factor--as against the equipment and said that due consideration should be given to this factor in planning the country's security.

CSO: 4600/1050

ANALYSTS DISCUSSES COMMUNAL PRESSURES ON DELHI

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Oct 84 p 2

[Text] **T**HE much maligned Mohammed Tughlak was not far wrong, a well known wag said the other day with a mischievous chuckle when the eccentric ruler decided to shift his capital to govern this vast country more effectively from a central location. The British too, realised much later the advantages of administering the sprawling sub-continent from Delhi rather than Calcutta to consolidate their conquests and settle down to a long spell of imperial rule.

After partition, there were many who doubted the wisdom of retaining Delhi as the capital of the newly independent India, because of its increased vulnerability and relative remoteness from many regions, although nobody talked seriously of moving to a central place due to the prohibitive costs of it. But the more superstitious politicians never felt happy with the prospect of having Delhi as the national capital in the changed circumstances, since this imperial citadel has been dubbed as the graveyard of several empires.

What is important is that whenever the idea of shifting the capital is mooted even as a talking point, it is not dismissed outright as a pipe dream, but turned down only as an impractical proposition at present. It is generally conceded that, despite the phenomenal changes brought about by modern communications, the psychological barriers created by long distances have not been overcome completely even after Independence. It is not so much the geographical location of the capital in the north as the emotional attitudes bred by it that tend to generate, often quite irrationally, feelings of neglect which in turn lead to a sense of isolation or even alienation of the other regions.

Dominance

There are much bigger countries like Australia, Canada and the United States whose capitals are not centrally located, but these are uni-dimensional societies whose unity is not based on diversity as in India, which has to contend with the complexities of its religions and regions which breed different brands of sub-nationalism. The continuance of Delhi as the national capital after partition has inevitably led,

according to some critics, to the dominance of the Hindi belt in Central politics with the deadening impact of its obscurantist outlook and linguistic chauvinism.

A good bit of the present-day dissonance in Indian life is attributed, not without some justification, to the absence of a scientific temper and modern thrust in the attitudes of its political leaders with only a few notable exceptions. The mere shifting of the capital to a more central location cannot by itself open the way for a greater synthesis of Indian thought, since the divisive forces that tend to disunite the people will still continue to influence their emotions and condition the sensitivities of the different regions.

It is the deepening fear, partly based on prejudice and partly due to ignorance, that other regions like the south, the east and the west, which are politically no less important than the north, have been progressively relegated to a secondary position at the Centre by the proximity of the populous Hindi belt that has led to exaggerated fears of permanent northern dominance under the present dispensation. The real culprit in this context has been the Cong-

ress party, both before and after its successive splits, since its northern-dominated leadership had not bothered to understand the psychology and allay the misgivings of other regions.

The communal politics in States like Kashmir and Punjab were regarded as an inescapable legacy of partition, while the insurgency in the North-Eastern States was sought to be explained away as an ethnic aberration. It was the ascendancy of the Dravida Kazhagam movement in Tamil Nadu that gave the first jolt to the smug Central leadership operating from distant Delhi, while what followed later in Andhra Pradesh and to some extent in Karnataka was regarded not so much as a disquieting symptom of a much deeper malaise as a freak regional phenomenon which would blow over soon.

It is the current upsurge of Hindu orthodoxy in the Hindi heartland that has unnerved the Central leadership, making many wonder whether it is primarily a backlash of Sikh militancy

--Is Upsurge of Hindu Orthodoxy in Hindi Belt a Backlash of Sikh Militancy?

In Punjab or something much deeper and, therefore, less containable in political terms. There is nobody of consequence in Delhi who has the capacity to take an overview of the many communal and regional cross-currents at work on the national scene, without looking compartmentally at each one such problem as though they were isolated developments with no apparent correlation.

The precipitous decline in the calibre of leadership and quality of representation of almost all political parties in the country has inevitably led to a progressive erosion of elitism in Indian public life, in the shape of an enlightened hard core at the national level, rising above the rut of religious or regional prejudices. It has placed a premium on a dogmatic articulation of ignorance with an amazing incapacity for comprehending the real nature of the many political and parochial challenges facing the nation. The Indian leadership has failed deplorably in keeping a credible distinction between political controversy, religious bigotry, regional bias and personal ambition.

Religious ritual

Whatever its irrational overtones, religious ritual has an important place in Indian life and one cannot pretend that it is something irrelevant even in a secular State. It is only when political parties try to give a communal twist to different faiths that the controversies and conflicts of interest generated by them acquire ugly dimensions. It is not wise to decry or denigrate the inherited values of other communities to make a profession of one's faith for deriving some political advantage.

It is legitimate for a leader in a secular society to adhere to one's religious beliefs and lead an orthodox life, so long as it does not unduly influence his political attitudes. The real harm is done by those who are not deeply religious but merely superstitious, who think of God only in times of trouble, hoping to invoke divine blessings to overcome hurdles in public or private life. The increasing reliance on religious ritual, in the form of yagnas and pilgrimages to propitiate Gods in moments of crisis or on the eve of elections, has made the leadership almost pathetically dependent on divine benedictions.

The people in the south are much more religious minded than in the north where in the wake of successive foreign invasions, forcible conversions and recurring communal tensions, an element of stridency has crept over the years into the role of religion. The very attempt to insulate one's faith from the evil influences of other competing religions has introduced a degree of competitiveness in their practice and propagation. It is this aspect that has contributed to the increasing role of superstition in the politicisation of religions, which is painfully evident from the way the Akalis have given a religious twist to their political agitation.

The introduction of adult franchise through universal suffrage has also opened the flood-gates to mass politics based on both ideology and religion. The approach of elections leads to not only a flurry of socialist rhetoric followed by agrarian and industrial unrest that are sought to be mollified with extravagant promises but also an intensification of communal politics with real or imaginary grievances. Intended or unintended insults to one another's religion in the heat of controversy also inflame passions often erupting in violence.

It is not possible to insulate completely a national capital region from such controversies and passions sweeping the adjoining States. The thinking of even the top leaders in Delhi gets conditioned by such pressures since they are also participants in the same political process that impels both the principled and the unprincipled to embark on what one might call competitive exaggeration for want of a more appropriate description. The Centre has to function in this hot house atmosphere of north Indian politics, often unmindful of what goes on in other regions.

But otherwise as a Union Territory which is the seat of the Central Government, Delhi has grown in the last three and a half decades into a unique example of national integration. The population of the capital which has risen from six lakhs to over six millions, increasing 10-fold since Independence, includes almost every segment of Indian society with those from the north, the south, the east and the west living in relative harmony without any discrimination or fear of intimidation. It is a miniature India representing the best aspects of Indian unity and diversity with a cultural blend that is a happy amalgam of different strands of the country's national life.

Uniformity undesirable

The geographical location of the capital does expose its thinking more to the northern influences, but it is not a bad thing in itself so long as the attitudes of the Union Government are not unduly coloured by them. A good many talented persons from the south have moved to Delhi in search of Central employment and chosen to settle here, because of the absence of comparable opportunities in their home States. An estimated 10 per cent of Delhi's population, or roughly six lakhs out of the total six millions, are from the south and by the turn of this century, it is expected to go up to 20 per cent.

And if it is not possible for the national capital to be shifted to a more central location, the next best thing to do is to ensure that the Union Territory of Delhi develops into a miniature India in every sense to provide the missing element of resilience in the country's quest

for emotional integration. It is neither desirable nor possible to attempt to enforce any uniformity in a country of this magnitude, since the real strength of India lies in a happy blend of its sub-national aspirations to preserve its basic unity and unique identity as a sub-continental nation.

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